THE POLITICAL PROGRESS OF BRITAIN:

OR, AN

IMPARTIAL HISTORY

OF

ABUSES IN THE GOVERNMENT

OF THE

BRITISH EMPIRE,

IN

Europe, Asia, and America.

FROM THE REVOLUTION, IN 1688, *TO THE PRESENT TIME:*

THE WHOLE TENDING TO PROVE THE RUINOUS CONSEQUENCES OF THE POPULAR SYSTEM OF

TAXATION, WAR, AND CONQUEST.

"*THE WORLD's MAD BUSINESS.*"

PART FIRST.

Third Edition.

PHILADELPHIA:

PRINTED BY AND FOR *RICHARD FOLWELL*, No. 33, MULBERRY-STREET.

1795.

[PRICE HALF A DOLLAR.]

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THE first edition of *The Political Progress of Britain* was published at Edinburgh and London, in Autumn, 1792. The sale was lively, and the prospect of future success flattering. The plan was, to give an impartial history of the abuses in government, in a series of pamphlets. But while the author was preparing for the press, a second number, along with a new edition of the first, he was, on the 2d of January, 1793, apprehended, and with some difficulty made his escape. Two booksellers, who acted as his editors, were prosecuted; and after a very arbitrary trial, they were condemned, the one to three months, and the other to six months of imprisonment. A revolution will take place in Scotland before the lapse of ten years at farthest, and most likely much sooner. The Scots nation will then certainly think itself bound, by every tie of wisdom, of gratitude, and of justice, to make reparation to these two honest men, for the tyranny which they have encountered in the cause of truth. In Britain, authors and editors of pamphlets have long conducted the van of every revolution. They compose a kind of forlorn hope on the skirts of battle; and though they may often want experience, or influence, to marshal the main body, they yet enjoy the honour and the danger of the first rank, in storming the ramparts of oppression.

The verdict of a packed jury, did not alter the opinions of those who had approved of the publication. Five times its original price nath, since its suppression, been offered in Edinburgh, for a copy. At London, a new edition was printed by Ridgway and Symonds, two booksellers, confined in Newgate, for publishing political writings. They sell the pamphlet, and others of the same tendency, openly in prison. It is next to impossible, for despotism to over-whelm the divine art of printing.

A copy of the first edition was handed to Mr. Jefferson, late American Secretary of State. He spoke of it, on different occasions, in respectful terms. He said, that it contained, "the most "astonishing concentration of abuses, that he had ever heard of "in any government." He enquired, why it was not printed in America? and said, that he, for one, would gladly become a purchaser. Other gentlemen have delivered their opinions to the same effect; and their encouragement was one cause for the appearance of this American edition. In preparing it for the press, a multiplicity of new materials presented themselves to the recollection of the writer. Hence the Introduction hath swelled to more than its former size. By indulging this habit of enlarging,

as he went on, the author has found it impoſſible to re-print the whole of the original pamphlet, as he at firſt deſigned. When he came to examine his performance at the diſtance of two years, he ſaw many topics of importance that had been but ſlightly touched; and whatever related to his native country, he was anxious to make as perfect as poſſible. Inſtead, therefore, of correcting an old work, he has, in a great meaſure, formed a new one; but he has avoided any mention of facts, or any reference to publications, poſterior to the date of the original Introduction. A mixture of this kind would have confuſed his narrative; becauſe, ſince it was firſt written, the internal ſtate of Britain hath undergone a very great alteration. The ſcene is varying every day; and on a ſubject ſo complicated, and, at the ſame time, ſo fluctuating, he cannot, at the diſtance of a thouſand leagues, write and delineate with the confidence of an eye-witneſs. He might alſo, with probability, have been ſuſpected of partiality, had he attempted to touch on a ſubject, wherein he was ſo perſonally intereſted; and where he might have forgot that decorum of ſtile and ſentiment, which the public are entitled to demand. The hiſtory of the two laſt years, is, therefore, entirely paſſed over; and the reader is here preſented with a kind of original ground-plan, of thoſe follies and crimes of government, which laid the foundation of a Britiſh, and in particular, of a Scots inſurrection. This little volume, forms a general introduction to the peruſal of thoſe trials at Edinburgh, for ſedition, that have been printed, and to thoſe others, for high treaſon, that will poſſibly be ſoon printed in the United States.

The work was at firſt intended for that claſs of people, who had not much time to ſpend in reading, and who wanted a plain, but ſubſtantial meal of political information. The facts are, therefore, crouded together as cloſely as poſſible. All the coquetry of authorſhip has been avoided. The ambition of the writer was to be candid, unaffected, and intelligible; becauſe, truth is the baſis of ſound argument, ſimplicity the ſoul of elegance, and perſpicuity the ſupreme touch-ſtone of accurate compoſition.

A report was circulated, and believed, in Scotland, that this production came, in reality, from the pen of one of the judges of the court of ſeſſion. The charge was unjuſt. His lordſhip did not write a ſingle page of it; but he ſaid openly, that its contents were authentic, and unanſwerable; and that the public were welcome to call it his.

For the extreme raſhneſs of his original plan, the writer cannot offer an apology that prudence will accept. A ſhort ſtory may, perhaps, convey the motives of his conduct. In 1758, the duke of Marlborough, with eighteen thouſand men, landed on the coaſt of France. The troops, when diſembarking, were op-

poſed by a French battery, which was immediately ſilenced; for it conſiſted only of an old man, armed with two muſkets. He was ſlightly wounded in the leg, and made priſoner. The Engliſh aſked him, whether he expected, that his two muſkets were to ſilence the fire of their fleet? "Gentlemen," he replied, "I "have only done my duty; and if all my countrymen here, had "acted like me, you would not this day have landed at Cancalle."

PHILADELPHIA, *November* 14, 1794.

POSTSCRIPT.

A Third Edition of *The Political Progreſs of Britain* is now ſubmitted to the public. Since the appearance of the ſecond, in November laſt, a pamphlet has been publiſhed, entitled, *A Bone to gnaw for the Democrats*, or, *Obſervations on a pamphlet entitled, The Political Progreſs of Britain.* The author is offended at my preſumption in having predicted a Scots revolution. The multiplied diſorders in the government itſelf, ſeem alone ſufficient for putting an end to it. Two years have now elapſed, ſince the war began with France. The experiment has already coſt Britain at leaſt ſixty thouſand lives, and between the augmentation of her public debt, the capture of her merchant ſhips, and the bankruptcies produced by the various calamities of war, at leaſt ſixty millions ſterling. For the expences of a third campaign, ſhe is contracting a debt of twenty-four millions ſterling; and of this ſum, ſix millions are to be beſtowed upon Francis the ſecond, that the fighting machines of Germany, may be led, or driven, to a twentieth defeat. The following paragraph in a London paper, of the 29th of April, 1793, demonſtrates how incapable Britain is of ſuch convulſive exertions.

"According to lord Rawdon's affecting ſtatement, in his new "bill, there are no leſs than *twenty thouſand* debtors, *one thouſand* "*three hundred wives*, and *four thouſand children*, now in *confine-* "*ment.*" The number muſt at preſent be ſuppoſed far greater.

The Public Ledger, of the 21ſt of June, 1793, advances one good reaſon for the alacrity of George the third, in commencing this war.

"The hundred thouſand pounds, for which a treaſury war- "rant has been granted, as part of the ſubſidy for the Hanoveri- "an troops, has been added to the two millions, ſeven hundred "thouſand pounds, already placed in the funds, in the name of "the lords of the regency of Hanover."

This is a miniſterial newſpaper. Thus we learn, that this amiable monarch ſells the lives of *one* part of his ſubjects, for the

money of another. In the preſent tempeſt of political diſquiſition, it is not poſſible that ſuch a ſyſtem as the Britiſh conſtitution can long hold itſelf together.

The church is, if poſſible, more corrupted than the ſtate. "An old woman, laſt year, was confined about ſix months, in "the king's bench priſon, and paid above *one hundred pounds* "*coſts*, for refuſing to pay church fees to the amount of *two* "*ſhillings and eight-pence.*"*

The firſt campaign againſt France, was to coſt about twelve millions ſterling to Britain, and the third requires twenty-four millions. By the ſame rule, the fifth campaign ſhould coſt forty-eight. The regal and eccleſiaſtical plunder of the late French government, and the eſtates of ſeventy-thouſand emigrants, have been computed at about three hundred and eighty-five millions ſterling of property in the hands of the republic. If to theſe, we add the revenues of Auſtrian Flanders, and other conquered countries, with the acquiſition of perhaps ſix millions of ſubjects, we ſhall ſoon be convinced, that Britain, ſupported only by credit, can have but a poor chance in contending with the inexhauſtible reſources of her antagoniſt. The conteſt may be protracted for three or four campaigns, but it can hardly fail to end in the deſtruction of the Britiſh monarchy.

JAMES THOMSON CALLENDER.

Philadelphia, 3d of March, 1795.

* Morning Chronicle, 6th May, 1793.

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INTRODUCTION.

Of Britiſh wars ſince the Revolution—Immenſe ſlaughter—Expence of wars—Nootka Sound—Oczakow—Tippoo Saib—Amount of National debt—Enormous extent of its intereſt in the next century—Scandalous terms on which it was firſt contracted—Sketch of the civil liſt of William III.—Profligate expenditure of the court—Hints for royal economy—Queen Anne—A ſingle default of thirty-five millions ſterling—Lotteries—Earl of Chatham—Specimen of Britiſh taxes—Lord North—His extravagant premiums for money—Scheme of paying off public debt—Its futility—Uniform abſurdity of modern Britiſh wars—Impreſs of Seamen—Character and deſign of this work.

SINCE the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-eight, Britain has been once at war with Holland, five times at war with France, and ſix times at war with Spain. The expulſion, or flight of James the Second, produced a bloody civil conteſt both in Scotland and Ireland. Since that time, we have alſo been diſturbed with two rebellions in Britain, beſides an endleſs catalogue of maſſacres in Aſia and America. In Europe, the price which we advance for a war, hath ſucceſſively extended from one hundred thouſand lives, to thrice that number; and from thirty to an hundred and thirty-nine millions ſterling. From Africa we import annually between thirty and forty thouſand ſlaves, an eſtimate which riſes, in the courſe of a century, to at leaſt three millions of murders. In Bengal only, we deſtroyed or expelled, within the ſhort period of ſix years, five millions of induſtrious and innocent people*; we have been ſovereigns of high rank, in that country, for about thirty-five years†; and there is reaſon to compute, that, ſince our elevation, we have ſtrewed the plains of Hindoſtan with thirty-ſix millions of carcaſes‡. Combining the diverſified ravages of famine, peſtilence, and the ſword, it may juſtly be ſuppoſed, that in theſe tranſactions, fifteen hundred thouſand of our countrymen have periſhed; a number equal to that part of the whole inhabitants of Britain who are at preſent able to bear arms. The deſtruction of our French and Spaniſh antagoniſts, and of German, Sardinian, and Portugueſe mercenaries, purchaſed by Britain to fight againſt them, has amounted to at leaſt a ſecond fifteen hundred thouſand lives. Hence it follows, that Britiſh

* Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, quarto edition, vol. iii. page 70.

† On the 23d of June, 1757, Colonel Clive defeated Suraja Dowla, Nabob of Bengal. This victory laid the foundation of the territorial grandeur of the Eaſt-India Company.

‡ Infra. Chap. vi.

quarrels, in only an hundred years, have deprived Europe of three millions of men, in the flower of life, whoſe deſcendants, in the progreſs of domeſtic ſociety, muſt have expanded into multitudes beyond calculation. The perſons deſtroyed, have in whole, certainly exceeded thirty millions, that is to ſay, three hundred thouſand acts of homicide *per annum*. Theſe victims have been ſacrificed to the balance of power, and the balance of trade, the honour of the Britiſh flag, the rights of the Britiſh crown, the "*omnipotence* of Parliament*," and the ſecurity of the Proteſtant ſucceſſion. Proceeding at this rate for another century, we may, with that ſelf-complacency, which is natural to mankind, admire ourſelves and our atchievements; but every other nation in the world muſt be entitled to wiſh, that an earthquake or a volcano, ſhould firſt bury the whole Britiſh iſlands together in the centre of the globe; that a ſingle, but deciſive exertion of Almighty vengeance, ſhould terminate the progreſs and the remembrance of our crimes.

In the ſcale of juſt calculation, the moſt valuable commodity, next to human blood, is money. Having made a groſs eſtimate of the waſte of the former, let us endeavour to compute the conſumption of the latter. The expences of Britiſh wars, from the revolution to the end of the year 1789, has been ſtated, by Sir John Sinclair, at three hundred and ſeventy-ſeven millions, twenty-nine thouſand five hundred and ninety-eight pounds ſterling. The particulars are as follows, viz.

Expences of war, during the reign of William III. - - - - -	£.30,447,382
Queen Anne, - - - - - -	43,360,003
George I. - - - - - - -	6,048,267
Expence of the war begun anno 1739, -	46,418,689
Ditto of the war begun anno 1756, - -	111,271,996
Ditto of the American war, - - -	139,171,876
Ditto of the armament reſpecting Holland, in 1787, - - - - -	311,385
Total,	†£.377,029,598

Since this publication, a fleet has been armed againſt Spain, to enforce the privilege of killing whales at the ſouth pole, and wild cats at twice that diſtance. By the account of the miniſter himſelf, as laid before parliament, the affair coſt us three millions one hundred and thirty-three thouſand pounds‡. In point of economy, this project reſembled the commencement of a lawſuit in chancery to recover half a crown. We have ſince quarrel-

* This modeſt phraſe was current before the American revolution. It hath, ſince that time, been laid aſide.

† Hiſtory of the public revenue of the Britiſh empire, part iii. chap. 2d.

‡ New Annual Regiſter, for 1791, page 141.

led with Catharine of Ruſſia, for a few acres in the deſarts of Tartary; and the charges of this ſecond armament muſt alſo have been very conſiderable. Thirty-three ſhips of the line, and about thirty thouſand men, were kept up for four months, that the grand Turk might recover poſſeſſion of Oczakow, and after all, this notable ſcheme was diſappointed. At preſent, we are tearing aſunder the dominions of Tippoo Saib; and Mr. Fox lately ſaid, in the houſe of commons, that this war, which has juſt now been ended, went on at an expence to ourſelves of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling per month, or about eight thouſand guineas per day. Comprehending theſe freſh exploits, the amount of money deburſed from the exchequer, on account of war, ſince the revolution, muſt exceed three hundred and eighty millions ſterling. We are alſo to ſubjoin the value of ſixteen or twenty thouſand merchant-ſhips, taken by the enemy. This diminutive article of ſixty or an hundred millions ſterling, would have been ſufficient for tranſporting and ſettling eight or twelve hundred thouſand farmers, with their wives and children, on the banks of the Suſquehannah or the Miſſiſſippi. So numerous a colony of cuſtomers could well have been ſpared from the nations of Europe. They would ſoon have rivalled the population of France, and have required a greater quantity of manufactures than this iſland has ever prepared for exportation. Inſtead of ſo comfortable a proſpect, we are, as a nation, indebted to the extent of at leaſt two hundred and fifty millions. The annual intereſt of this ſum, the neceſſary expences of management, and of collecting the revenue that defrays it, are, all together, above *eleven millions and an half ſterling*. This burden is equivalent to a yearly poll-tax of one pound three ſhillings ſterling, per head, upon every individual inhabitant of Britain*. Beſides what we pay at preſent upon this account, it is worth while to notice what we have paid already. From the revolution to the year 1789, incluſive, the intereſt of the public

* In an affair of ſo much importance, the utmoſt accuracy may be expected. The exact amount of the debt, as ſtated by Sir John Sinclair, is *two hundred and forty-ſeven millions, nine hundred and eighty-one thouſand, nine hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds, five ſhillings and two-pence*. Hiſtory of the public revenue, Part III. chap. v. In another place, near the end of the ſame chapter, he has theſe words. "Thus, including the ſinking fund, and the intereſt of our unliquidated claims, our public debts, at preſent, require the ſum of *ten millions, ſix hundred and thirty-two thouſand, one hundred and ninety-one pounds fourteen ſhillings, and three half-pence per annum*." The expence of collecting this ſum, in proportion to that of the whole Britiſh revenue, may be gueſſed at about nine hundred thouſand pounds a year, which, added to the intereſt itſelf, gives the eleven millions and an half, ſtated in the text. The preface to the volume here quoted, bears date the 30th of January 1790. The Spaniſh and Ruſſian ſquabbles muſt, between them, have coſt at leaſt ſix millions ſterling. They took place after the preceding eſtimate had been made of the extent of the national debt; ſo that the ſums mentioned in the text are, both as to the principal and the annual charges, much about the fact, even after deducting what Mr. Pitt may have paid off.

debts, and of the public loans repaid, including other incidental articles connected with theſe matters, has been three hundred and ninety millions, two hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand, five hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds*.

But this is a trifle compared with the ſums of intereſt that we muſt diſcharge in the next hundred years. The burden hath now riſen to eleven millions, and five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*. Six yearly payments only, from the 1ſt of January, 1792, to the 1ſt of January 1798, incluſive, with compound intereſt at five per cent. from the firſt of theſe two dates to the ſecond, amount to eighty millions, nine hundred and fifty-four thouſand, three hundred and forty ſeven pounds, four ſhillings and three-pence. The reader may proſecute the ſeries of figures to the end of the next century. He will then diſcover that ſeveral myriads of millions ſterling are not for that time alone, equal to the preſſure of this enormous load. We far excel the Greeks and Romans in the arts of induſtry, and the reſources of wealth; but it would be vain to ſearch among ancient nations, for any inſtance that rivals Britiſh debts, and Britiſh folly.

It is an object of the higheſt curioſity and importance for every one of us, to enquire, in what manner ſuch aſtoniſhing ſums have been borrowed, and by what methods they have been expended? In the courſe of this work, each of theſe queries will be explained; but in the mean time, a few detached particulars ſhall be here inſerted, to aſſiſt the reader in forming a conception of the reſt of the buſineſs.

In the war of 1689, that ſeed-bed of the future calamities of Britain, money was borrowed upon annuities for lives. "Fourteen *per cent.* was granted for one life, twelve *per cent.* for two lives, and ten *per cent.* for three. Such terms were, *in the higheſt degree extravagant*; particularly as no attention was paid to *difference of ages*†."

The ſame author adds, on the authority of Dr. Price, that "borrowing, at the rate of twelve *per cent.* for two lives, and ten *per cent.* for three, is giving ten *per cent.* for money in the one caſe, and nine *per cent.* in the other‡." From 1690, to the end of the war, the hiſtorian ſays, that, on the money borrowed, "eight *per cent.* was uniformly paid." To raiſe a farther ſum upon theſe annuities, another expedient was, in the ſequel, embraced. The annuitants were offered a reverſionary intereſt, after the failure of their lives, for *ninety-ſix years*, to be reckoned from January 1695, on their paying only four and a half year's purchaſe, or ſixty-three pounds for every annuity of fourteen pounds. In 1698, the demand was reduced to four years pur-

* Hiſtory of the public revenue, &c. Part III. chap. 2d.
† Ibid. Part II. chap. 4. ‡ Ibid.

chaſe; or fifty-ſix pounds for the annuity of fourteen. For our farther ſatisfaction, "the ſame ſyſtem was afterwards adopted "in the reign of Queen Anne*." Some of theſe annuities remain, at this day, "to the amount of one hundred and thirty-"one thouſand two hundred and three pounds, ſeven ſhillings, "and eight-pence *per annum*, for which the ſum of one mil-"lion eight hundred and thirty-ſix thouſand, two hundred and "ſeventy-five pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings and ten pence three "farthings, had been originally contributed; and for the uſe "of which, the public muſt pay above *thirteen millions* before "they are all extinct†."

But even all this was only a part of the evil. "Davenant "affirms, that the debt of the nation was ſwelled more by *high* "*premiums* than even by the exorbitant intereſt that was paid; "and that its credit was at ſo low an ebb, that *five millions*, giv-"en by parliament, produced for the ſervice of the war, and "to the uſes of the public, but little more than *two millions and* "*an half*‡." In another paſſage, he ſeems to contradict himſelf, and to reduce the loſſes in this way to *one* million out of five; but there is full evidence on record, that his firſt computation was more accurate than the ſecond.

"In 1698, a propoſal was made to parliament, of advancing "two millions to government, at eight per cent. provided the "ſubſcribers were erected into a new Eaſt-India company, with "excluſive privileges. The old Eaſt-India company offered ſe-"ven hundred thouſand pounds, nearly the amount of their "capital, at *four* per cent. upon the ſame conditions. But ſuch "was, at that time, *the ſtate of public credit*, that it was more "convenient for government to borrow two millions at *eight* "per cent. than ſeven hundred thouſand pounds at *four*. The "propoſal of the new ſubſcribers was accepted‖." The two millions coſt an intereſt of one hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds. The ſeven hundred thouſand pounds could have been had at four per cent. that is, for twenty-eight thouſand. Out of the two millions, therefore, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds were only worth twenty-eight thouſand pounds, and the remaining one hundred and thirty-two thouſand of intereſt, was the ſum really paid for the remaining thirteen hundred thouſand pounds of principal. Thus, the latter ſum, in fact, coſt the public ten per cent. with an overplus, on the whole, of two thouſand pounds. Theſe details are perhaps dry, but they are ſufficiently intelligible, and all men of ſenſe will acknowledge, that they are extremely uſeful. If Britiſh hiſtorians had uniformly com-

* Hiſtory of the public revenue, &c. Part II. chap. 4. † Ibid.
‡ Ibid.
‖ Inquiry into the nature and cauſes of the Wealth of Nations, Book V. Chap. I. Part 3d, Article I.

poſed their works on this plan, we ſhould long ſince have renounced entirely, or, at leaſt, in a great degree, the practice of foreign wars. With all proper deference to Quintilian, ſuch a ſtile is preferable to that of any hiſtorical writer in his long catalogue of literary heroes. Let us return, with theſe uſeful calculations, to the reign of William.

The management of this money, when obtained, correſponded with the terms of the loan. In the reign of William the Third, the civil liſt, that *cup of abominations*, was ſupported by certain taxes, appropriated for that purpoſe, and which amounted "at an average, to about ſix hundred and eighty thouſand "pounds *per annum**." The public revenue of England, after every poſſible extortion, was only ſcrewed up to three millions, eight hundred and ninety-five thouſand, two hundred and five pounds†; ſo that the civil liſt was leſs than one-fifth, but more than one-ſixth part of *the whole revenues of England*. If the civil liſt of this day bore the ſame proportion to the national income, it would extend to at leaſt *three millions ſterling*. Sir John Sinclair has given a complete ſtate of the whole expences of the civil liſt, during the thirteen years of the reign of the Proteſtant hero. A few articles may ſerve as a ſpecimen of the reſt. To the robes, *fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds*. This money would have clothed two thouſand poor people, at forty ſhillings each, *per annum*, for thirteen years, with a reverſion of five thouſand pounds for the dreſs of the royal family, which conſiſted, properly ſpeaking, but of two perſons. Jewels *ſixty thouſand pounds*. Plate, *one hundred and two thouſand pounds*. Band of gentlemen penſioners, *ſixty-nine thouſand pounds*. To making gardens, beſides an account paid under a different head, *one hundred and thirty-three thouſand pounds*. After ſetting apart thirty-three thouſand pounds for his gardens, William could have applied the reſt of this money much better. He might have parcelled out of the crown lands, which are to this day lying waſte, in the centre of England, two thouſand ſmall farms. On each of his tenants, he might have beſtowed fifty pounds to begin the world; and the firſt ten years of a perpetual leaſe, free of rent. To the ſtables, *two hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds*. To the great wardrobe, *three hundred and nineteen thouſand pounds*. This ſum would have clothed an army of ſixty thouſand men; or, what is more eſtimable, ten thouſand tradeſmen and their families. Privy purſe, *four hundred and eighty-three thouſand pounds*. For half this money, we might have had a beautiful edition of all the Greek and Roman claſſics, with Engliſh tranſlations. To the treaſurer of the chambers, *four hundred and eighty-four thouſand pounds*. This ſum would have been of the utmoſt ſervice, in paving and light-

* Hiſtory of the public revenue, Part III. chap. I. † Ibid.

ing the ſtreets of London. To the treaſurer of the late Queen, whoſe ſiſter, Queen Anne, William did not think worth a plate-full of green peas*, *five hundred and ſix thouſand pounds*. To the prince and princeſs of Denmark, a harmleſs but uſeleſs couple, *ſix hundred and thirty-eight thouſand pounds*. Fifty-three thouſand debtors, at twelve pounds each, might have been relieved from priſon by this money; or a fund might have been eſtabliſhed with it, for the annual diſcharge of a thouſand priſoners of that kind, on the birth-day of his majeſty, and an equal number on the day, when he ſigned a warrant for the maſſacre of Glenco. Secret ſervices, *ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds*. Fees and ſalaries, *eight hundred and fifty-eight thouſand pounds*. Penſions and annuities, *ſix hundred and eighty-ſix thouſand pounds*. Cofferer of the houſehold, *thirteen hundred thouſand pounds*. In the end of the laſt century one ſhilling went farther than three can go now; ſo that this ſum was equal in reality to four millions at this day. The deliverer of England, therefore, ſpent what correſponds to three hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, on his houſehold, for thirteen years, while, during a conſiderable part of his reign, his ſubjects, by thouſands and ten thouſands, expired of hunger†. To the paymaſter of the works, *four hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand pounds*. The whole bill extends to eight millions eight hundred and eighty thouſand pounds; and it does not appear that one-fourth part of it was expended for wiſe and uſeful purpoſes‡. This was the frugality of government, at a time, when they were compelled to borrow money, at ten, *per cent.*

In the next reign, the ſyſtem was not much improved. An Engliſh houſe of commons informed Queen Anne, that "there "remained at Chriſtmas, 1710, thirty-five millions, three hun-"dred and two thouſand, one hundred and ſeven pounds of "public money unaccounted for§." In 1714, one million, eight hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand pounds were raiſed by a lottery. Out of this ſum, *four hundred and ſeventy-ſix thouſand pounds* were diſtributed among the proprietors of the fortunate tickets. This was a premium of about thirty-four *per cent.* on the ſum actually received‖. In 1744, the charter of the Eaſt-India company was prolonged from 1766 to 1780. This was an anticipation of twenty-three years. The value of the compenſation, granted by the company to government, did not exceed thirty thouſand pounds¶. This was like Eſau ſelling his birth-right for a meſs of pottage. If the bargain had been de-

* Anecdotes of the Ducheſs of Marlborough. † Infra. chap. 3.

‡ Sixteen hundred and ſeventy pounds for the widows of officers, appear, like Falſtaff's half-penny worth of bread, in a corner of one article.

§ Hiſtory of the public revenue, Part II. chap. 4.

‖ Ibid. ¶ Ibid.

ferred till the expiration of the former monopoly, perhaps forty times that ſum could have been obtained.

Sir John Sinclair gives a "general view of PREMIUMS upon "the new loans," in the war of 1756.* Theſe premiums amount in value to *fourteen millions, two hundred and eighty-three thouſand, nine hundred and ſeventy-five pounds ſterling*. The total ſum borrowed, and added to the national debt, for this premium, was ſeventy-two millions, one hundred and eleven thouſand, and four pounds. The premium is, within a perfect trifle, *one-fifth part* of the whole money obtained. Thus, out of every twenty ſhillings of the loan, we gave back four ſhillings as a reward for the lender. At this rate, the Britiſh armies conquered Guadaloupe and Canada; and we continue to boaſt of the glory of theſe exploits. Yet a perſon might, with as much reaſon, burn his houſe, for the ſake of roaſting an egg in its aſhes. We may ſuppoſe, that the reſt of the national debt was created upon terms at leaſt equally hard; and the fifth part of the whole two hundred and fifty millions contracted, gives a premium of FIFTY MILLIONS STERLING. After ſuch work, it is not wonderful, that we are now harneſſed in debts and taxes, like horſes in a carriage. One-third part of the expences of a family conſiſt in the payment of public burdens. Five hundred thouſand people in England are ſupported by charity.† We muſt give twenty-ſix pounds ſterling *per annum* for leave to keep a hackney coach; and twenty ſhillings *per annum* for leave to make a farthing candle, beſides one penny *per* pound of exciſe upon the manufacture; nine-pence per pound of importation duty for Peruvian bark; and three guineas for leave to ſhoot a partridge worth two-pence. Half the price of a bottle of wine, or a bowl of punch, goes off in taxes, for leave to drink it. This deſerves not to be termed the language of malignity. Thoſe who pay the reckoning have a right to read the bill.

I am no orator as Brutus is,
To ſtir men's blood; I only ſpeak right on.
I tell you that which *you yourſelves do know.*

* Part II. chap. 4.

† Dr. Wendeborn, a candid, and well informed writer, in his View of England, towards the cloſe of the eighteenth century, ſays, that "whoever lives "upon a thouſand a year, is ſuppoſed to pay at preſent about *ſix hundred* of it "in government duties, taxes, exciſe, church pariſh and poor rates."

He alſo obſerves, that of the people of England, "*one million* is ſo poor it "muſt be ſupported by the reſt." Theſe aſſertions have been conſiderably ſoftened in the text, to avoid any charge of exaggeration. They do not apply to Scotland, where beggars are leſs numerous, and pariſh and poor rates but little known.

As a neceſſary conſequence of this enormous taxation, the author informs us, that "fifty years ago, a family might live very handſomely on five hundred "pounds *per annum*, but a thouſand will at preſent *hardly go ſo far*."

On the 27th of December, 1791, a bill for an additional duty on malt, came before the houſe of peers. On this occaſion, lord Kinnoul ſaid, that " their lordſhips were not perhaps appriſed " of the rate at which *barley*, in its various forms, was already " taxed; if they were not, the enumeration would aſtoniſh " them. As malt only, it was taxed at the rate of ten ſhillings " and ſix pence per quarter. The additional duty of three " pence per buſhel would raiſe it to twelve ſhillings and ſix " pence per quarter. When to this were added the land tax, " and the duties on beer, which he ſeverally calculated, it " would be found, that the raw commodity, which brought " the proprietor of the ſoil on which it was raiſed, about *nine* " *ſhillings*, paid to government, in its ſeveral ſtages, above *two* " *pounds ten ſhillings*†." Every perſon who advanced a part of theſe two pounds ten ſhillings, would make a ſeparate charge on his cuſtomer for the advance of his money, ſo that theſe two pounds ten ſhillings would finally coſt the drinker of the liquor at leaſt three pounds ten ſhillings, perhaps four or five pounds; and all this on an article originally worth nine ſhillings. The calculation of four or five pounds, being charged for two pounds ten ſhillings, will not ſeem unreaſonable, if we conſider what follows. A tax of a penny per bottle, or ſome ſuch trifle, was once impoſed by lord North on the retailers of wine. To the ſurpriſe of all men, the vintners of London inſtantly raiſed the liquor ſix pence per bottle. If Britain pays at preſent eighteen millions ſterling of taxes to the crown, we may fairly compute that ſhe pays at leaſt twelve millions of an additional, though inviſible tax, to the landholders, merchants, and manufacturers, who, in the firſt place, advance the money. At the opening of a miniſterial budget, there is never heard any notice as to this ſilent but moſt inevitable and terrible of all taxes. Between this burden, and that of tide-waiters and exciſe-men, it may be feared, that every ſhilling which goes into the exchequer, has, upon a medium, coſt two ſhillings to the nation.

One other inſtance only ſhall be ſubjoined in this place, of the manner in which public debts have been contracted. In 1781, Lord North received for the national ſervice twelve millions ſterling. For this ſum he gave eighteen millions of *three per cent.* ſtock, and three millions of four *per cent.* ſtock. The annual intereſt of theſe two ſums is ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, or five and an half *per cent.* for the twelve millions actually received. Money is not commonly advanced in England, at more than four and an half *per cent.* of intereſt; and very frequently at four *per cent.* At the former of theſe two rates, the twelve millions borrowed by Lord North ought

† Senator, Vol. I. page 245.

only to have coſt five hundred and forty thouſand pounds per annum. The *one hundred and twenty thouſand pounds* additional, at twenty-five years purchaſe, make a premium of *three millions ſterling* for the loan of *twelve millions*. It is not ſurpriſing that Sir John Sinclair, Dr. Swift and other writers, complain ſo loudly of the ſcandalous conditions upon which the public debts of Britain have been borrowed. The original contractors with government for lending of the money, remind us of a band of uſurers, embracing every advantage over the neceſſities of the ſtate; while the miniſters of the crown ſeem like deſperate gameſters, who care not by what future expence they ſecure another caſt of the dice. From the facts above ſtated, the public funds prove to be a ſtupendous maſs of fraud, profligacy, impoſture and extortion. Behold that ſacred edifice of *national faith*, that political *ſanctum ſanctorum*, which we ſupport at an annual expence of eleven millions and an half ſterling!*

What kind of gentry ſome of theſe creditors are, there was no body better able to inform us than the late Earl of Chatham. "There is a ſet of men," ſays he, "in the city of London, "who are known to live in riot and luxury, upon the plunder "of the ignorant, the innocent, and the helpleſs, upon that "part of the community, which ſtands moſt in need of, and "beſt deſerves the care and protection of the legiſlature. To "me, my Lords, whether they be miſerable jobbers of Change-"Alley, or the lofty Aſiatic plunderers of Leadenhall Street, "they are all equally deteſtable. I care but little whether a man "walks on foot, or is drawn by eight horſes, or ſix horſes; "if his luxury be ſupported by the plunder of his country, I "deſpiſe and abhor him. My Lords, while I had the honour "of ſerving his Majeſty, *I never ventured to look at* THE TREA-"SURY, *but from a diſtance*; it is a buſineſs I am unfit for, "and to which I never could have ſubmitted. The little I "know of it, has not ſerved to raiſe my opinion of what is "vulgarly called the *monied intereſt*. I mean that BLOOD-SUCK-"ER, that MUCKWORM, which calls itſelf the friend of Go-"vernment, which pretends to ſerve this or that adminiſtration, "and may be purchaſed on the ſame terms *by any adminiſtra-"tion*. Under this deſcription, I include the whole race of "commiſſioners, jobbers, contractors, clothiers, and remit-"ters†."

* Of the original commencement of this debt, the characters, motives and emoluments of its authors, the reader may find an authentic hiſtory in the *Political Progreſs*, Part II, which will appear in a few months.

† *Vide* his ſpeech in the debate on Falkland's Iſlands, which has been re-printed in the Anecdotes of his Life juſt publiſhed. This quarrel ended, like others, in our diſappointment, and perhaps diſgrace. Beſides much expence and trouble to individuals, the nation ſquandered between three and four millions ſterling.

The friends of Mr. William Pitt boaſt much of the nine millions of debt, which, in a period of ſix years, he is ſaid to have diſcharged. The ſcheme is an abſolute bubble. He began to buy up *three per cents*, in April 1786; at which time they ſold for ſeventy. They roſe, almoſt inſtantly, to ſeventy-ſeven, and upwards. They have ſince been much higher; and if the miniſter ſhall make any ſubſtantial progreſs in his plan, they will very ſoon reach an hundred *per cent.* and very likely go higher. Thus, as Sir John Sinclair obſerves, "the more we pay, *the more we ſhall be indebted*; every ſhil-"ling that is laid out in purchaſing ſtock, *raiſes the price pro-*"*portionably*." So peculiar is the nature of this national debt, and ſo very hazardous an attempt to diſcharge it! To make this quite plain, it may be obſerved, that when Mr. Pitt firſt began to buy up ſtock, the market price of the whole three *per cent.* funds, was all together but one hundred and ſeventeen millions, ſix hundred and forty-three thouſand pounds. In two years and an half, he had purchaſed a ſmall part of it; but the prodigious parade that he made about this operation, raiſed the price of *the remaining ſtock* to one hundred and twenty-two millions, four hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. The ſequel, in October 1788, was, that the miniſter had expended or ſunk *two millions and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds*, and yet, he left matters WORSE THAN HE FOUND THEM by *four millions, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand pounds*. The following ſtatement puts the matter in a ſhort, and clear view:

In October, 1788, the value of the whole *remaining* three per cent. ſtock was - -	£122,420,401
Mr. Pitt, at an expence of two millions, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, had before purchaſed ſtock to the amount of - - -	£3,626,000
In April 1786, before he began to buy up at all, the whole three per cents. were only at ſeventy per cent. or - - -	117,643,308
ACTUAL INCREASE OF NATIONAL DEBT, over and above the two millions, ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, caſt away in the purchaſe of ſtock - - - - -	004,777,093

It muſt be acknowledged, in favour of Mr. Pitt, that while he has augmented the principal ſum of the national debt, he has reduced the annual payment of intereſt. The three millions and ſix hundred thouſand pounds of three *per cents.* which are paid off, coſt, formerly, one hundred and eight thouſand pounds *per annum* of intereſt, which is now extinguiſhed. This is the ſole advantage ariſing to the public from the tranſaction. But there was a ſhorter way to have come at this ſame purpoſe. Mr. Pitt and his parliament ought to have ſtruck

from the civil liſt a number of uſeleſs penſioners, ſuch, for example, as the groom of the ſtole, the maſter of the horſe, the maſter of the robes, the maſter of the hawks, twelve lords and twelve grooms of the bed-chamber, twenty-four preachers in his majeſty's chapel at Whitehall, and the *wet nurſes* of the prince of Wales and the duke of York*. Inſtead of aboliſhing uſeleſs places, to diſcharge this annuity, Mr. Pitt ſqueezed out of the people two millions and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, which, with the expence of collecting it, comes to at leaſt three millions ſterling. The extinction of a burden of one hundred and eight thouſand pounds *per annum* has thus coſt more than it is worth. At four and an half *per cent.* three millions produce one hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds *per annum*; which is itſelf twenty-ſeven thouſand pounds more than *the annuity extinguiſhed.* Here we muſt obſerve, that ten *per cent.* is but a moderate and ordinary profit on the capital of ſtock, either in huſbandry, commerce, or manufactures. Hence, if theſe three millions had been ſuffered to remain in the hands of the people of Britain, they would have afforded to the community at large, at leaſt three hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* of additional wealth; and perhaps twice or thrice that ſum. The ſlighteſt and moſt neceſſary taxes, are, therefore, in their own nature, very deſtructive. When a tobacconiſt, or a tanner, pays thirty pounds of exciſe, he does not merely loſe thirty ſhillings *per annum*, as the legal intereſt of his money; but he is likewiſe prevented from the chance of converting this capital of thirty pounds into an augmented ſum of thirty-three, thirty-ſix, or forty pounds. If the tradeſman can ſhove the tax upon his cuſtomers, by raiſing the price of his commodities, it comes exactly to the ſame point at laſt, as *their* active capitals are always, and with mathematical certainty, reduced in an equal proportion. Thus it is evident, that every ſum raiſed from the public as an impoſt, or exciſe, muſt in reality coſt them ten *per cent.* This, by the way, demonſtrates the raſhneſs of wars undertaken in defence of *a foreign trade*, ſince the ſums levied to ſupport the ſtruggle are, every farthing of them, drawn from the circulation of domeſtic commerce; a commerce always more ſafe, and very commonly more profitable, than that which kings are ſo frequently fighting for. A commercial war is truly *caſting our bread upon the waters, that we may find it after many days.* Now, as every million of pounds raiſed by government from the people of Britain, is, upon an average, at leaſt equal to an annuity for ever, of an hundred thouſand pounds, out of the pockets of thoſe who pay

* In the court and city calendar, for 1775, eight of theſe ladies are charged to the nation, at ſalaries each of two hundred pounds *per annum*; beſides dry nurſes, workwomen, rockers, and other luggage of the ſame ſort.

it, the inference is, that if Mr. Pitt had underſtood or regarded the intereſt of this country, he never would have undertaken to diſcharge a debt bearing three *per cent.* at an expence of ten; or, as before obſerved, an annuity of one hundred and eight thouſand pounds, by paying a capital of three millions, producing a yearly profit of three hundred thouſand pounds to the holders of it. In this way Mr. Pitt pays off the public debt. Since October 1788, ſtocks have riſen prodigiouſly; ſo that the period here choſen for the examination of this celebrated project, is by far the moſt favourable that can be taken. A full account of its ſubſequent hiſtory will be given hereafter. Mr. Pitt might as well propoſe to empty the Baltic with a tobacco pipe. But let us admit the caſe, that he at preſent had an hundred millions in the exchequer. The diſcharge of the public debt is, on his principles, abſurd and unjuſt. Stocks would inſtantly riſe to at leaſt an hundred; and he begins perhaps by paying off the twenty-one millions of three and four *per cents.* for which Lord North actually received but *twelve millions.* Thus, after giving, as above ſtated, five and an half *per cent.* for a loan of twelve millions, we diſcharge that original twelve millions itſelf, with *twenty-one millions.* The preſent ſcheme for extinguiſhing the public debt is therefore impracticable, if it were honeſt, and, as an act of robbery againſt ourſelves, it would be diſhoneſt, if it were practicable.

But, ſuppoſing that Mr. Pitt had in reality paid off nine millions of debt, and leſſened the public burdens of its intereſt, yet, for the ſake of an impartial and ſatisfactory argument, his advocates ought to arrange, in an oppoſite column, a liſt of the additional taxes which he has impoſed, and of the thouſands of families, whom ſuch taxes have ruined.* A third column ſhould contain a liſt of the millions which this miniſter has waſted upon Spaniſh and Ruſſian armaments, on the unprovoked and piratical war againſt Tipoo Saib, on the Chineſe embaſſy, the ſucceſſive elections for Weſtminſter, the creditors of the prince of Wales, and the nabob of Arcot, and the Baratrian ſettlement of Botany Bay. The pretended plan of diſcharging the national debt, on which Mr. Pitt ſometimes expatiates to parliament, for two hours together, was but a ſorry trap for popularity; and if "the *ſwiniſh* multitude" had been much wiſer

* In 1723, the tax on hawkers and pedlars in England, produced, in the groſs, ten thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-three pounds; and eight thouſand, ſix hundred and four pounds of net income. Thus, one-fifth of the revenue was ſunk in the collection. In 1785, Mr. Pitt, cutting the ſecond inch out of a man's noſe, doubled the tax; and, in 1788, the total amount of it had ſhrunk to *five thouſand, four hundred and ſixty-one pounds.* Of this ſum, the net produce was but *two thouſand, one hundred and ſeventy pounds;* three-fifths of the produce of the tax, were thus ſunk in collecting it. This diabolical impoſt was laid for the profeſſed purpoſe of extirpating pedlars. Crowds of them were reduced to a ſtate of ſtarving. The new addition to the tax hath ſince been repealed. Vid. ſome account of it in the hiſtory of the public revenue. Part III. chap. 3.

than the reſt of their family, they muſt, in a moment, have ſeen through and deſpiſed the artifice. The debts of Britain never will be paid; they never can be paid; and in the preſent way of diſcharging them, they never, in juſtice, ought to be paid. The hardineſs of the father of this deluſion, exceeds any thing that was ever heard of; becauſe his arguments and aſſumptions are, as above explained, in a ſtate of hoſtility with the multiplication table; and becauſe, though religious impoſtors have pretended to work miracles, yet none even of them has ever aſſerted that two and two make five. But though theſe debts will never be extinguiſhed by the attempts of the miniſter, they have certainly paſſed the meridian of their exiſtence. Had the war with America laſted for two years longer, Britain would not, at this day, have owed a ſhilling; and if we ſhall perſiſt in ruſhing into carnage, with our wonted contempt of all feeling and reflection, it muſt ſtill be expected, that, according to the practice of other nations, a ſponge or a bonfire will finiſh the game of funding.

What advantage has reſulted to Britain from ſuch inceſſant ſcenes of prodigality and of bloodſhed? In the wars of 1689, and 1702, this country was but an hobby-horſe for the emperor and the Dutch. The rebellion in 1715, was excited by the deſpotic inſolence of the whigs. George the Firſt purchaſed Bremen and Verden, from the King of Denmark, to whom they did not belong. This pitiful and dirty bargain produced the Spaniſh war of 1718, and a ſquadron diſpatched for ſix different years to the Baltic. Such exertions coſt us an hundred times more than theſe quagmire duchies are worth, even to an elector of Hanover; a diſtinction which, on this buſineſs, becomes neceſſary, for as to Britain, it was never pretended, that we could gain a farthing by ſuch an acquiſition*. In 1727, the nation forced the ſame George into a war with Spain, which ended as uſual with much miſchief on both ſides. The Spaniſh war of the people in 1739, and the Auſtrian ſubſidy war of the crown, which commenced in 1741, were abſurd in their principles, and ruinous in their conſequences. At ſea, we met with nothing but hard blows. On the continent, we began by hiring the queen of Hungary to fight her own battles againſt the king of Pruſſia, and ten years after that war had ended, we hired the king of Pruſſia, with ſix hundred and ſeventy one thouſand pounds *per annum*, to fight his own battles againſt her. If this be not folly, what are we to call it? As to the quarrel of 1756, "It was remarked by all Europe," ſays Frederick, "that in her diſpute with France, *every wrong ſtep was on the ſide of England.*"

* The ſolitary muttering of Poſtlethwaite, in his dictionary, is not worth naming as an exception.

By ſeven years of fighting, and an additional debt of ſeventy-two millions ſterling, we ſecured Canada; but had Wolfe and his army been driven from the heights of Abraham, our grandſons might have come too early to hear of an American revolution. As to this event, the circumſtances are almoſt too ſhocking for reflection. At that time an Engliſh woman had diſcovered a pretended remedy for the canine madneſs, and Frederick adviſes a French correſpondent *to recommend this medicine to the uſe of the parliament of England, as they muſt certainly have been bitten by a mad dog.*

In the quarrels of the continent we ſhould concern ourſelves but little; for in a defenſive war, we may ſafely defy all the nations of Europe. When the whole civilized world was embodied under the banners of Rome, the moſt diſtinguiſhed of her conquerors, at the head of thirty thouſand veterans*, diſembarked for a ſecond time on the coaſt of Britain. The face of the country was covered with a foreſt, and the ſolitary tribes were divided upon the old queſtion *Who ſhall be king?* The Iſland could hardly have attained to a twentieth part of its preſent population, yet by his own account, the invader found a retreat prudent, or perhaps neceſſary. South-Britain was afterwards ſubjected, but this acquiſition was the taſk of more than thirty years. Every village was bought with the blood of the legions. We may confide in the moderation of a Roman hiſtorian, when he is to deſcribe the diſaſters of his countrymen. In a ſingle revolt, ſeventy thouſand of the uſurpers were extirpated; and fifty, or, as others relate, ſeventy thouſand ſoldiers periſhed in the courſe of a Caledonian campaign. Do the maſters of modern Europe underſtand the art of war better than Severus, and Agricola, and Julius Cæſar? Is any combination of human power to be compared with the talents and reſources of the Roman empire? If the naked Scots of the firſt century, reſiſted and vanquiſhed the conquerors of the ſpecies, what ought we to fear from any antagoniſt of this day? On ſix months warning Britain could muſter ten or twelve hundred thouſand militia. Yet, while the deſpots of Germany were fighting about a ſuburb, the nation has ſubmitted to tremble for its exiſtence, and the bloſſoms of domeſtic happineſs have been blaſted by crimps, and ſubſidies, and preſs-gangs, and exciſe acts. Our political and commerical ſyſtems are evidently nonſenſe. We poſſeſs within this ſingle iſland, every production both of art and nature, which is neceſſary for the moſt comfortable enjoyment of life; yet for the ſake of tea, and ſugar, and tobacco, and

* Cæſar ſays that he had with him five legions, and two thouſand Cavalry, which with the light troops, can hardly have been leſs than the number ſpecified in the text. A legion, at that time, contained five thouſand infantry.

a few other deſpicable luxuries, we have ruſhed into an abyſs of taxes and of blood. The boaſted extent of our trade, and the quarrels and public debts which attend it, have augmented the ſcarcity of bread, and even of graſs, at leaſt three hundred *per cent.*

There is no law more juſt, ſays Virgil, *than that the projector of death ſhould periſh by his own ſtratagem.* We have ſuffered in a full proportion to what we have inflicted. As to the ſlaughter of our countrymen in time of war, George Chalmers, Eſq. digeſts it in a ſtyle perfectly ſuitable to the underſtanding and the conſcience of a modern ſtateſman. The Britiſh ariſtocracy conſider the reſt of the nation, as a commodity bought and ſold; and if we required abſolute evidence of this truth, here is a full atteſtation. "It is not eaſy," ſays "Mr Chalmers, "to calculate the numbers who die in the "camp, or the battle, more than would periſh from *want*, or "from *vice* in the hamlet or city. *It is ſome conſolation*, that "the induſtrious are too wealthy and independent to covet the "pittance of the ſoldier, or to court the dangers of the ſailor; "and though *the forſaken lover*, or *the reſtleſs vagrant*, may "have looked for refuge in the army or the fleet, it may admit "of ſome doubt how far the giving proper employment to both, "(viz. that of committing robbery and murder, and of getting "themſelves knocked on the head for it,) may not have freed "their pariſhes from *diſquietude*, and from *burdens*. It is the "*expences* more than the *ſlaughter* of modern war which "debilitate every community."* This paragraph explains the memorable epithet which has been beſtowed on the Britiſh nation. For if the ſoldiers and ſailors of the Britiſh army and navy had been transformed by the wand of Circe into hogs, or even rats, it is impoſſible that this writer could have ſpoken with greater indifference of their extirpation. He conſiders it as a neceſſary circumſtance, that a great part of the common people muſt periſh from want or from vice, unleſs they are diſcharged in the form of armies on the reſt of the world. The remedy is a thouſand times worſe than the diſeaſe; and it would be more humane to give a premium to poor people for ſtifling their infants in the cradle. "If I am a coward," ſays Jaffier, "who made me ſo?" What but the miſerable conſtruction of our government can have produced ſuch a horrid neceſſity? When ten millions and an half ſterling *per annum* are due, and muſt be paid to the creditors of the nation, beſides a million to the officers who collect it, when two millions ſterling are beſtowed on the church of England, and a much larger ſum on penſioners of all kinds, it is impoſſible, that we ſhould not find in the oppoſite ſcale, a correſpondent

* Comparative Eſtimate, p. 142.

balance of want and wretchedneſs. When you raiſe up one end of a beam above its level, the other end muſt ſink in proportion. When you give ſix or eight hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* to a ſingle family, and its trumpery of a houſehold, you reduce, with mathematical certainty, thirty or forty thouſand families to poverty. It is not difficult to ſee that ſuch a political progreſs muſt end in a political exploſion. Mr. Hume, after adverting to the extremely frivolous object, as he calls it, of the war in 1756, makes this reflection. "Our "late deluſions have much exceeded any thing known in hiſto"ry, not excepting even the cruſades. For I ſuppoſe there is "no demonſtration ſo clear, that the Holy Land was *not* the "road to paradiſe, as there is, that the endleſs increaſe of na"tional debts, is the direct road to NATIONAL RUIN. But having "now *completely reached that goal*, it is needleſs at preſent to "look back on the paſt. It will be found in the preſent "year (1776,) that all the revenues of this iſland, north of Trent, "and weſt of Reading, are mortgaged and anticipated forever." He concludes with this remark: "So egregious, indeed, "has been our folly, that we have even loſt *all title to com*"*paſſion* in the numerous calamities that are awaiting us."*

It is hard to ſay what Mr. Chalmers can have deſigned by introducing, in the quotation above cited, *the forſaken lover*. His alluſion calls to our remembrance the practice of impreſſing ſeamen, and, in a work of this nature, that ſubject deſerves illuſtration. "The power of impreſſing ſeamen," ſays Blackſtone, "for the ſea ſervice, by the king's commiſſion, "has been a matter of ſome diſpute, and ſubmitted to with "great reluctance; though it hath very *clearly* and *learnedly* "been ſhewn, by Sir Michael Forſter, that the practice of "impreſſing, and granting powers to the admiralty for that "purpoſe, is of *very antient date*, and hath been uniformly "continued by *a regular ſeries of precedents* to the preſent time; "whence he concludes it to be part of the common law. The "difficulty ariſes from hence, that no ſtatute has expreſsly de"clared this power to be in the crown, though many of them "*very ſtrongly imply it*†." The crime of man-ſtealing is much greater than that of robbery, and only juſt leſs than that of murder, in which it has frequently terminated. A thouſand Britiſh ſtatutes, in defence of it, could not have altered the eſſence of the guilt. When the late Spaniſh and Ruſſian armaments were laid aſide, perſons who had been impreſſed, were ſometimes diſcharged, at the diſtance of three or four hundred miles from their places of reſidence, and with a bounty of ten or fifteen ſhillings each. During the wiſe diſpute about

* Hiſtory of England, Vol. Vth, p. 475, London octavo edition, 1778.
† Commentaries on the laws of England, Book 1, Chap. 13.

Falkland's Iſlands, which were, in value to this country, below the power of figures, a workman in London was returning one evening to his family with his weekly wages. He was apprehended by a preſs-gang, and caſt into the hold of a tender. His landlord, and ſome other creditors, heard of what they called his elopement. They ſeized on his furniture, and his wife and child were turned to the door. Within a few days after, the mother was delivered of a ſecond child, in a garret. When weakneſs permitted her to riſe, ſhe left her two naked children, and wandered into the ſtreets, as a common beggar. Inſtead of obtaining aſſiſtance, ſhe was reproached as an abandoned vagabond. In deſpair, ſhe went into a ſhop, and attempted to carry off a ſmall piece of linnen. She was ſeized, tried, and condemned to be hanged. In her defence, the woman ſaid, that ſhe had lived reputably and happy, till a preſs-gang robbed her of her huſband, and in him, of all means to ſupport herſelf and her family; and that in attempting to clothe her new-born infant, ſhe perhaps did wrong, as ſhe did not, at that time, know what ſhe did. The pariſh officers, and other witneſſes, bore teſtimony to the truth of her averment, but all to no purpoſe. She was ordered for Tyburn. Though her milk, if ſhe had any, muſt have been fermented into poiſon, it ſeems that nobody condeſcended to ſeek a nurſe for her child. *The hangman dragged her ſucking infant from her breaſt, when he ſtraitened the cord about her neck.* On the 13th of May, 1777, Sir William Meredith mentioned this aſſaſſination in the Houſe of Commons. "Never," ſaid he, "was there a "fouler murder committed againſt the law, than that of this "woman by the law." Theſe were the fruits of what Engliſhmen call *their ineſtimable privilege of a trial by jury.* It would not be difficult to fill a large volume with deciſions of this ſtamp, though there has not, perhaps, occurred any ſingle caſe which was, in all its circumſtances, ſo abſolutely infernal.

In this introduction, we have ſeen a ſketch of the hiſtory of certain monarchs and miniſters, ſome of whom are, at this day, held up as the political ſaviours of Britain. The reader may compare the wanton ſlaughter of multitudes, and the profligate expenditure of millions, with the *guilt*, as it was termed, of Mary Jones. He will then judge which of the two parties beſt deſerved a halter*. This little narrative may ſerve as a ſupplement to the very clear and learned demonſtration of Sir Michael Foſter.

This publication conſiſts not of fluent declamation, but of curious authenticated and important facts, with a few ſhort obſervations interſperſed, which ſeemed neceſſary to explain

* The particulars of this ſtory are extracted from a letter to Charles Jenkinſon, Eſq. ſecretary at war, by Mr. John Clark, tranſlator of the Caledonian Bards. The letter was printed at Edinburgh, in 1780.

them. The reader will meet with no mournful periods to the memory of *annual* or *triennial* parliaments; for while one half of the members are nominated by the houſe of peers, it is of ſmall concern whether they hold their places for life, or but for a ſingle day. Some of our projectors are of opinion, that to ſhorten the duration of parliament, would be an ample remedy for all our grievances. The advantages of a popular election have likewiſe been much extolled. Yet an acquaintance with Thucydides, or Plutarch, or Guicciardini, or Machiavel, may tend to calm the raptures of a republican apoſtle. The plan of univerſal ſuffrages has been loudly recommended by the duke of Richmond; and, on the 16th of May 1782, that nobleman, ſeconded by Mr. Horne Tooke, and Mr. Pitt, was ſitting in a tavern, compoſing advertiſements of reformation for the newſpapers. The times are changed; but had his plan been adopted, it is poſſible that we ſhould, at this day, have looked back, with regret, on the humiliating, yet tranquil deſpotiſm of a Scots, or a Corniſh borough.

The ſtyle of this work is conciſe and plain; and it is hoped that it will be found ſufficiently reſpectful to all parties. The queſtion to be decided is, are we to proceed with the war ſyſtem? Are we, in the progreſs of the nineteenth century, to embrace five thouſand freſh taxes, to ſquander a ſecond five hundred millions ſterling, and to extirpate thirty millions of people?

EDINBURGH, 14th September, 1792.

THE

POLITICAL PROGRESS

OF

BRITAIN.

CHAP. I.

Purity and importance of Scots repreſentatives in parliament—Parchment barons—Anecdotes of the Scots exciſe—Window tax—Extracts from an authentic report to the lords of the treaſury—Herring fiſhery—Salt and coal duties—Dreadful oppreſſion—Fate of Sir John Fenwick—Hiſtory of the creditors of Charles the Second—Summary of the public ſervices of the prince of Wales.

THE people of Scotland are, on all occaſions, fooliſh enough to intereſt themſelves in the good or bad fortune of an Engliſh prime miniſter. Lord North once poſſeſſed this frivolous veneration, which hath ſince been transferred to Mr. William Pitt; and the Scots, in general, have long been remarked, as the moſt ſubmiſſive and contented ſubjects of the Britiſh crown. It is hard to ſay what obligations have excited that univerſal and ſuperlative ardour of loyalty, for which, till very lately, we have been ſo ſtrikingly diſtinguiſhed. Mr. Brinſley Sheridan obſerved, ſome time ago, in the houſe of commons, that *the Scots nation hath juſt as much intereſt in the government of Britain, as the miners of Siberia have in the government of Ruſſia.* The aſſertion was at once the moſt humiliating and well founded. A public revenue of eleven hundred thouſand pounds annually is extracted from North-Britain. Of this ſum, at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand pounds* are lodged in the exchequer of England, a country that has inceſſantly, and not very decently, reproached us for poverty. It is ſtrange

* Hiſtory of the public revenue. Part III. chap. 6. The ſtatement fills four quarto pages; it appears to be candid, and as authentic and accurate, as the nature of the materials would admit. Some years ago, Sir John Sinclair tranſmitted a letter on this ſubject to a ſociety in Scotland; and I have heard Scotſmen, ſo ſunk in the mire of Hanoverian ſuperſtition, ſo degraded below *the beaſts that periſh*, as to cenſure him for preſumption in doing ſo.

that ſixteen hundred thouſand people ſhould ſubmit to pay eleven hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* to a government, in the direction of which they have nothing to ſay. It is very natural that a nation, abſorbing ſix hundred thouſand pounds a year of our money, ſhould be a great deal richer than ourſelves; and, at the ſame time, it is likewiſe very natural, that they ſhould deſpiſe the Scots as a people, the moſt abject and contemptible of the ſpecies.

To England we were, for many centuries, a hoſtile, and we are ſtill conſidered by them as a foreign, and in effect a conquered nation. It is true, that an extremely diminutive part of us are ſuffered to elect almoſt every twelfth member in the Britiſh houſe of commons; but theſe repreſentatives have no title to vote, or act in a ſeparate body. Every ſtatute proceeds upon the majority of the voices of the whole compound aſſembly. What, therefore, can forty-five perſons accompliſh, when oppoſed to five hundred and thirteen? They feel the abſolute inſignificance of their ſituation, and behave accordingly. An equal number of elbow chairs, placed, once for all, on the miniſterial benches, would be leſs expenſive to government, and juſt about as manageable. Theſe, and every miniſterial tool of the ſame kind, may be called expenſive, becauſe thoſe who are obliged to *buy*, muſt be underſtood to *ſell*,* and thoſe who range themſelves under the banners of oppoſition, can only be conſidered, as having rated their voices too high for a purchaſer in the parliamentary auction.

There is a faſhionable phraſe, *the politics of the county*, which I can never hear pronounced without a glow of indignation. Compared with ſuch *politics*, even pimping is reſpectable. Our ſupreme court have indeed interpoſed, though very feebly, to extirpate what in Scotland are called *parchment barons*, and have thus prevented a crowd of unhappy wretches from plunging into an abyſs of perjury. But, in other reſpects, their deciſion is of no conſequence, ſince it moſt certainly cannot be of the ſmalleſt concern to this country, who are our electors, and repreſentatives; or, indeed, whether we are repreſented at all. Our members, with ſome very ſingular exceptions, are

* A *worthy* repreſentative was requeſted by his conſtituents, to attend to their intereſt in parliament. "Damn you, and your inſtructions too," ſaid he, "I have BOUGHT you, and I will SELL you." *Political Diſquiſitions*, vol. I. p. 280.

About twenty years ago, Sir Lawrence Dundas wrote a letter to one of his agents in the Scots boroughs, and enjoined him, at the approaching election for parliament, *not to be outbidden*. This epiſtle was intercepted by his opponents, and, if I miſtake not, printed in the news-papers. Sometime ago, a perſon reſided at Dumfries, who ſubſiſted on a ſalary of about fifty pounds. He was a fictitious voter, and received this annuity for perjuring himſelf once in every ſeven years. His ſituation was a common jeſt, while the people in general had no more idea of the meanneſs of *their* political condition, than an equal number of horſes in a ſtable. Every Scotſman may, without effort, recollect an hundred anecdotes of the ſame nature.

the mere ſatellites of the miniſter of the day; and forward to ſerve his moſt oppreſſive and criminal purpoſes.

It ſeems to have been long a maxim with the monopolizing directors of our ſouthern maſters, to extirpate, as quickly as poſſible, every manufacture in this country, that interferes with their own. Has any body forgot the ſcandalous breach of national faith, by which the Scottiſh diſtilleries have been brought to the verge of deſtruction? Has not the manufacture of ſtarch alſo been driven, by every engine of judicial torture, to the laſt pang of its exiſtence? Have not the manufacturers of paper, printed calicoes, malt liquors, and glaſs, been harraſſed by the moſt vexatious methods of exacting the revenue? Methods equivalent to an addition of ten, or ſometimes an hundred *per cent.* of the duty payable. Let us look around this inſulted country, and ſay, on what manufacture, except the linen, taxation has not faſtened its bloody fangs?

In the exciſe annals of Scotland, that year which expired on the 5th of July, 1790, produced, for the duties on ſoap, *ſixty-five thouſand pounds.* On the 5th of July, 1791, the annual amount of theſe duties was only *forty-five thouſand pounds*; and by the ſame hopeful progreſs, in three years more at fartheſt, our miniſters will enjoy the pleaſure of extirpating a branch of trade, once flouriſhing and extenſive. Two men were, ſome years ago, executed at Edinburgh, for robbing the exciſe-office of twenty-ſeven pounds; but offenders may be named, who ten thouſand times better deſerve puniſhment. Oppreſſive ſtatutes, and a moſt tyrannical method of enforcing them, have thus, in a ſingle year, deprived the revenue of twenty thouſand pounds, in one branch only, and have compelled many induſtrious families to ſeek refuge in England; and then our legiſlators, to borrow the honeſt language of George Rous, Eſq. "have the inſolence to call this GOVERN-"MENT."

By an oriental monopoly, we have obtained the *unexampled privilege* of buying a pound of the ſame tea, for ſix or eight ſhillings, with which other nations would eagerly ſupply us at half that price*. Nay, we have to thank our preſent illuſtrious miniſter, that this vegetable has been reduced from a rate ſtill more extravagant. His popularity began by the commutation act. Wonders were promiſed, wonders were expected, and wonders have happened! A nation, conſiſting of men who call themſelves *enlightened*, have conſented to build up their windows, that they might enjoy the permiſſion of ſipping in the dark a cup of tea, ten *per cent.* cheaper than formerly; though ſtill at double its intrinſic price.

* In Philadelphia, tea is cheaper by one half than in Edinburgh. At Gottenburgh alſo, the difference, in favour of the Swedes, is very great.

Such are the glorious conſequences of our ſtupid veneration for a miniſter, and our abſurd ſubmiſſion to his capricious dictates!

General aſſertions, unſupported by proper evidence, deſerve but little attention. I ſhall therefore lay before the reader ſome extracts from a book publiſhed in 1786, by Dr. James Anderſon. This work is hardly known, yet every friend to the proſperity of Scotland ought to be intimately acquainted with its contents.

In 1785, this gentleman was employed, by the lords of the treaſury, to make a tour among the Hebrides and weſtern coaſts of Scotland, for the purpoſe of aſcertaining the beſt methods to promote the fiſheries, and the conſequent improvement of that part of the country. This commiſſion, Dr. Anderſon executed, with that ardor and fidelity of inveſtigation, for which he has long been diſtinguiſhed. It is impoſſible, in a ſhort performance of this nature, to give an analyſis of the volume; but the following particulars will ſerve to ſhew, that the weſtern coaſts and the weſtern iſlands of Scotland, groan under the moſt enormous oppreſſion. Dr. Anderſon has printed part of a report, dated the 14th of July 1785, and made by a committee of the Houſe of Commons. They give an account of the cuſtom-houſe duties collected for ten ſucceſſive years, in nine counties of Scotland, viz. Argyle, Inverneſs, Sutherland, Caithneſs, Orkney, Shetland, Cromarty, Nairn and Moray. The expence of collection, for theſe ten years, from the 1ſt of January 1775, to the 31ſt of December 1784, was

	£
	51,679 13 8 3-4
The groſs produce - -	50,737 2 1 1-4
Payments exceed the produce by	942 11 7 1-2*

The committee add, that "they have little reaſon to expect "a more favourable reſult from their enquiries reſpecting the "exciſe than the cuſtoms." The author ſubjoins, that an account of the exciſe had ſince been publiſhed, and *confirmed the truth of this obſervation.* But this is not the worſt; for there is likewiſe to be added a part of the expence of cruiſers employed under the board of cuſtoms in Scotland. On an average of five years, preceding the year 1785, this charge amounted to nine thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, twelve ſhillings and four-pence. "If," ſays Dr. Anderſon, "we ſuppoſe that one half of the above expence ſhould "be ſtated to the account of the nine counties above mentioned,

* Introduction, page 63. There is an error of the preſs in ſubtracting the one ſum from the other, which has been here corrected.

" which *I conceive to be an under proportion*, then the expence " on this head would be four thouſand, nine hundred and " thirty ſeven pounds, ſixteen ſhillings and two-pence."* This article is very near equal to the whole annual produce of the cuſtoms of theſe nine counties. If we take the different ſums in round numbers, we may ſay, that the groſs produce of the cuſtoms is five thouſand pounds, the expence of collecting them five thouſand pounds, and the expence of cruiſers, to prevent ſmuggling, five thouſand pounds. Thus, in the courſe of ten years, government collected fifty thouſand pounds, by deburſing one hundred thouſand. There certainly never was ſuch a ſhameful ſyſtem of robbery heard of, even in the annals of the Turks, the Spaniards, or the Britiſh Eaſt-India company. Were the whole maſs of Britiſh taxes collected at ſuch an expence, the government itſelf, would, in ſix months, become bankrupt; and maids of honour, and grooms of the bedchamber, and the whole cloud of ſinecure vermin, would vaniſh, like the exhalations of a quagmire, in the tempeſt of revolutionary vengeance. " A fact of this nature, when thus fairly brought to " light, cannot fail to ſtrike every thinking perſon with ſome " degree of aſtoniſhment and horror. A croud of reflections " here preſs upon the mind. Why are theſe perſons oppreſſed " with taxes, when the ſtate is no ways benefitted by them? " Why are the other members of the community loaded with " burthens, to enforce the payment of theſe unproductive taxes " here? From what cauſe does it happen that theſe people " complain of taxes, while they pay next to nothing?"† This may be called the inſanity of deſpotiſm. I ſhall now ſtate, from the ſame work, a few examples of the way in which this revenue is collected.

" A man in Skye, who had got a load of *bonded* ſalt, uſed " the whole in curing fiſh, ſave *five* buſhels only, but before " he could recover his bond, he found himſelf obliged to hire " a boat and ſend theſe five buſhels to Oban, which coſt him " upwards of *five* pounds expences."‡

" One would imagine, that if a man *paid the duty for his* " *ſalt*, he might afterwards do with it what he pleaſed; but " this I find is not the caſe. Laſt ſeaſon (1784,) a veſſel was " fitted out in haſte, at Aberdeen, to catch herrings, that were " then on the coaſts. But as the owners of that veſſel had no " duty-free ſalt, they were obliged to purchaſe ſalt that had " already *paid the duty*; but before they were allowed to carry " one ounce of this ſalt to ſea, they were further obliged *to* " *give bond for it*, in the ſame form as if it had been duty-free " ſalt."‖

* Introduction, page 65.
† Ibid p. 65.
‡ Report p. 40.
‖ Ibid p. 41.

" Again, in the year 1783, Mr. James M'Donald, in Portree, in Skye, purchaſed from Leith, a quantity of ſalt, which had paid duty, and ſhipped it by permit on board a veſſel for Portree. It was regularly landed, and a cuſtom-houſe certificate returned for the ſame. With this ſalt he intended to cure fiſh, when he could catch them in thoſe ſeas; but not having found an opportunity of uſing it in the year 1784, he fitted out, at his own expence, this ſeaſon (1785,) a ſmall ſloop, to proſecute the fiſheries. On board that ſloop, he put ſome part of this ſalt with the permit along with it. A revenue cutter fell in with his veſſel, and *ſeized veſſel and ſalt, proviſions and all together!*"*

There is an exciſe duty upon foreign ſalt, imported into the Weſtern Iſlands, of ten ſhillings *per* buſhel, beſides a cuſtom-houſe tax of about two pence three farthings.† The exciſe duty is too high to be paid for ſalt employed in the curing of fiſh. Government, therefore, in order to encourage the Britiſh fiſheries, has promiſed to remit the exciſe duty. But it is poſſible that the ſalt thus diſburdened of the ten ſhillings of exciſe, might be applied to ſome other purpoſe than that of curing fiſh, and in this way, the intended bounty might be converted into a ſource of fraud againſt the exciſe revenue. When the legiſlature, therefore, granted this indulgence, " all importers of foreign " ſalt were required firſt to land it at a cuſtom-houſe, where it " was to be carefully weighed by the proper officers, and the " importer either to pay the duty, or to enter it *for the purpoſe* " *of curing fiſh*, and in that caſe, to give bond, with two ſufficient ſureties, either to pay the exciſe duty of ten ſhillings " *per* buſhel, or *to account for the ſalt*, under a penalty of twenty " ſhillings *per* buſhel. In conſequence of this bond, he muſt " either *produce the ſalt itſelf at that cuſtom-houſe* on or before the " 5th of April thereafter, or cured fiſh in ſuch quantities as " are ſufficient to exhauſt the whole ſalt, which fiſh, he is obliged " to declare upon oath were cured with the ſalt for which he " had granted bond. It is only after all theſe forms, *and ſeveral* " *others* are duly complied with, that the bond can be got up; " and theſe bonds if not cancelled *before they fall due*, muſt be " regularly returned to the commiſſioners of ſalt duties, by " whom an action muſt be *inſtantly* commenced in the court of " exchequer, for recovery of the penalties incurred in the bonds. " If any of this ſalt remains unuſed, a new bond on the ſame " terms, muſt be granted for it, however ſmall the quantity " may be, nor can that ſalt be moved from the place where it " is once lodged, without an expreſs warrant from the cuſtom-

* Report p. 41.

† On Scots ſalt, the duty is one ſhilling and ſix pence per buſhel, on foreign ſalt ten ſhillings. The latter is chiefly conſumed by the buſſes.

" houſe, and another bond granted by the proprietor, ſpecifying, " under heavy penalties, where it is to be landed; which bond " can only be withdrawn in conſequence of a certificate from " the cuſtom-houſe ſpecifying that it was there lodged. Nor " can it be ſhifted from one veſſel to another, did both veſſels " even *belong to the ſame perſon*, without an order from the cuſ- " tom-houſe, and a new bond granted; nor can a ſingle buſhel " of that ſalt, in any circumſtance, be ſold without a new bond " being granted for it, and a transfer of that quantity being " made in the cuſtom-houſe books."* This paſſage paints, in ſtriking colours, the gloomy and ferocious jealouſy of Engliſh deſpotiſm. An eternal repetition of the word *bond*, may aſſure us, that the act of parliament has been dictated by the very genius of Shylock. Theſe regulations are attended with ſo much expence, and intricacy, and ſo great a hazard of ruinous penalties, that, in many caſes, they correſpond to an abſolute prohibition. In England, a fiſherman grants bond but *once*;† a diſtinction that aſcertains the pitiful malevolence of our *ſiſter* kingdom. To give a proper comprehenſion of all the clogs with which the Scots fiſheries, and *they only* are burdened, would require ſeveral ſheets of paper. A few particulars may ſerve at preſent, as a ſpecimen of the reſt.

" If a veſſel containing ſalt is loſt at ſea, or at the fiſhing, proof " muſt be made of its being ſo loſt, before the ſalt bond can be re- " covered; and in ſome caſes, the commiſſioners are ſo ſcru- " pulous with reſpect to this proof, as to render it next to " impoſſible to recover the bond, or avoid the penalty it con- " tains."‡ Theſe bonds coſt, each of them, ſeven ſhillings and ſix pence. As an inſtance of the rigour of the commiſſioners, Dr. Anderſon tells the following ſtory.

A buſs on the fiſhing ſtation was caſt away. The maſter went to a juſtice of peace in the neighbourhood, and made oath to the loſs of his veſſel, with the ſalt, &c. on board, *but not having ſaved his papers*, he committed a miſtake of five or ſix buſhels in ſtating the quantity of ſalt. His depoſition, ſigned by the juſtice, was tranſmitted to the commiſſioners, for recovery of the ſalt bond. On account of the *error*, it was returned, to be altered. The man then went before two juſtices, and made oath to the *exact* quantity. This depoſition was tranſmitted; but returned again as inſufficient, for the law requires that it ſhould be made before a quorum of juſtices *at their quarter ſeſſions*. By this time, the ſhip-maſter had gone to ſea to the fiſhery. Dr. Anderſon adds, that it was *a thouſand to one* if he

* Report by Dr. Anderſon, page 35.
† Illuſtrations of the report, page 178.
‡ Ibid, p. 174.

had not either to pay the penalty of his bond, or loſe a ſeaſon of the fiſhing; as he could not, when at ſea, be certain of attending at the preciſe day of the quarter ſeſſions.* Such is the treatment of a ſhipwrecked mariner from Scots commiſſioners of ſalt duties! When this tranſaction happened, the *ſympathetic* Dr. Adam Smith was a member of that quintumvirate, who ſway the ſceptre of ſalt exciſe in North-Britain.

"No veſſel can lend or give ſalt to any other at the fiſhing or "otherwiſe, even though *belonging to the ſame owners*, becauſe the "quantity ſhipped *per* cocquet in any veſſel muſt be regularly "landed at ſome cuſtom-houſe or other, either in fiſh or not uſed; "and if it muſt be lent, muſt be ſo landed and *bonded*, and again "ſhipped *per* cocquet anew. If lent otherwiſe, the ſalt and veſ"ſel are ſeizable."† This author obſerves, that a bare liſt of the proſecutions, which have been raiſed in Scotland, on account of the ſalt tax, would excite horror. The moſt trifling miſtake, in point of form, is ſufficient for reducing an induſtrious family to beggary; yet in England, when the committee of fiſheries required a liſt of the proſecutions that had been raiſed in that country ſince the inſtitution of this law, the return was only ONE.‡

In conſequence of ſo harſh a ſyſtem, ſalt is ſmuggled in immenſe quantities from Ireland, where the duty is but three-pence *per* buſhel. A perſon confeſſed, that, in a ſingle year, he imported into one of the weſtern iſlands, *nine hundred and ſeventy tons of ſalt*, which are equal to *thirty-eight thouſand eight hundred and ninety buſhels*. Several other people in the ſame iſland followed that trade.§ If the formalities on the remiſſion of ſalt duties, did not defeat the whole intention of the law, there could be no temptation to this traffic. Dr. Anderſon affirms, as a certain fact, that *five hundred thouſand people* in Scotland uſe no ſalt but that of Ireland. He tells us alſo, on the ſubject of cuſtom-houſe duties, in general, that he once paid thirteen ſhillings for leave to ſend coaſt-ways forty ſhillings worth of oat-meal.‖ Though the cuſtoms, in the nine moſt northern counties of Scotland, cannot defray the expence of collecting them, yet they are in themſelves, very exorbitant, when compared with the value of the commodities on which they are paid. Bonds, certificates, and other traſh of that kind, coſt as much on a ſmall cargo, as on a large one. Dr. Anderſon was aſſured, that in the Hebrides "the expence of the cuſtom-houſe officer to diſcharge a cargo "of coals, amounts, in many caſes, to *more than four times the* "*duty on the coals*, and if the cargo be *ſmall*, it will ſometimes "*double the prime coſt*."¶ The officer is to be brought from a diſtance of perhaps thirty miles, at an expence which the par-

* Illuſtrations of the report, page 175.
† Ibid p. 176. ‡ Ibid, p. 191. § Report, pag. 47.
‖ Introduction, p. 67. ¶ Ibid, p. 32.

ties muſt always defray out of their own pockets. This information explains another of his aſſertions, that thoſe poor people, the Scots Highlanders, " pay at leaſt *five hundred per cent.* more " than the merchants in London, Liverpool, or Briſtol, would " have paid for the ſame goods."§

The ſubject of the Scots fiſheries has already extended to ſome length. It ſhall be reſumed and cloſed in the next chapter. For the ſake of variety, and as a relief to the feelings of the reader, let us, for the preſent, make a ſhort excurſion into the more elevated regions of legiſlative iniquity.

Some people are in the habit of revering an act of parliament, as though it were the production of a ſuperior being. To this claſs of readers may be recommended a peruſal of the following anecdote. In ſummer 1789, when the bill for an exciſe on the manufacture of tobacco, was brought up to the houſe of peers, the Lord Chancellor Thurlow " treated the enacting part " of it with a high degree of mixed aſperity and contempt. He " ſaid, that the vexatious precautions and preventive ſecurity " of the exciſe laws, were *unneceſſarily*‖ extended to the ſubject " in queſtion ; that a fit attention had not been paid to the " *eſſential intereſts and property of the manufacturers ;* that the " greater part of the enacting clauſes were *abſurd, contradictory,* " *ungrammatical, and unintelligible !* He expreſſed his wiſhes, " that the houſe of commons, if they meant to perſevere in " their claim of having money bills returned from the houſe " of peers unaltered, would not inſult them, by requiring their " adoption of laws *that would diſgrace ſchool boys.*"¶ He accordingly moved for an amendment, which was rejected by a majority of *ten* voices againſt *ſeven. So notably was the buſineſs of the nation attended !* The houſe of peers conſiſted at that time, including biſhops, of about two hundred and fifty-nine members, ſo that this was juſt like one juryman preſuming to do the office of fifteen. The bill however had been ſo wretchedly conſtructed, that an alteration appearing abſolutely neceſſary, was urged a ſecond time by the Duke of Richmond and carried. But before this could be accompliſhed, the parliament were juſt riſing. The houſe of commons had not time to think of their pretended conſtituents. The alterations were ſuppreſſed, and the bill, with all its imperfections on its head, was diſcharged on the devoted tobacconiſts of Britain. If that parliament had been ſelected from the cells of Newgate, they could not have acted, in this affair, with a more atrocious contempt for every part of their duty.

§ Introduction p. 66.

‖ This expreſſion intimates, that in the opinion of Thurlow, tobacco is an improper object of exciſe. He was in the right; for the tax produced a ſcene of ſtupendous injuſtice. A full account of it ſhall be given hereafter.

¶ Dodſley's Annual Regiſter, for 1789, p. 157.

There is no greater abſurdity in what is called our conſtitution than this, that the mere ſhreds and ballaſt of a Britiſh parliament have often executed, or betrayed its moſt important duties. The houſe of commons conſiſts of five hundred and fifty-eight perſons, including the forty-five make-weight Scots members. Of all theſe, forty form a quorum, and an hundred, or even fifty or ſixty, have frequently tranſacted the moſt intereſting affairs. In the new conſtitution of the united ſtates of America, a very obvious and a very effectual remedy has been provided againſt this abuſe. By the fifth ſection of the firſt article, it is enacted, that "a majority of each houſe ſhall conſtitute "a quorum to do buſineſs." The conſtitution of America is not like ours, a dream floating through the libraries of lawyers, and the imaginations of unprincipled place-hunters. It has been reduced to an inſtrument of only ten or fifteen pages, compoſed by men of ſenſe, and on a ſubject which they had ſtudied and digeſted. We return to *the Queen of Iſles*.

In the reign of William the third, one Tilly obtained an act of parliament to enable Bromſhill, an infant, to ſell his intereſt in the Fleet priſon; which intereſt was purchaſed by Tilly. A report was ſometime after made in the houſe of commons, which contains theſe words. "Mr. Pocklington, from the committee "on the abuſes of priſons, &c. among a variety of other matter, "reported to the houſe, that one Brunſhill, a ſolicitor, had in"formed the ſaid committee, that Tilly, as he was informed, "ſhould ſay, that he obtained that act *by bribery and corruption*.

"That one Mrs. Hancock applying to Tilly not to protect one "Guy, being his clerk of the papers, becauſe he was perjured, "&c. Tilly refuſed her requeſt; upon which, being aſked how "he would do, if the matter ſhould be laid before parliament? "he replied, *he could do what he would there;* that they were *a* "*company of bribed villains;* that to his knowledge, they would "*all take bribes;* and that it coſt him three hundred pounds for "his ſhare, and three hundred pounds for the other ſhop, mean"ing the King's Bench, for *bribing a committee laſt parliament*.

"That ſhe then intimated that ſhe muſt then apply to the "houſe of lords; he anſwered, it was only *palming five or ſix* "*talking lords*, and they would quaſh all the reſt. And ſhe then "ſaid, ſhe would try the king and council; he added, the beſt "of the lord-keeper's fees were from *him;* that as to the judges, "they were all ſuch a parcel of rogues, that *they would ſwallow* "*his gold* faſter than he would give it them; and that as to the "members of the houſe of commons, they were many of them "*members of his houſe*." * This picture ſeems unfavourable; but the parliaments of William the third were chiefly compoſed of

* On the uſe and abuſe of parliaments, vol. I. p. 126.

very exceptionable characters. An example or two as to their general conduct may ſerve at preſent.

In 1694, William planned an expedition againſt Breſt. The particulars were betrayed to James the ſecond, by letters from England. In conſequence of this intelligence, the French prepared for the reception of their aſſailants. A body of Engliſh land forces were diſembarked at Breſt. They perceived ſuch formidable entrenchments, and batteries, that they attempted to retreat on board their ſhips. But the tide had gone out; the flat bottomed boats were entangled in the mud; and the French, with ſuperior forces, poured from every ſide upon the fugitives. Six hundred of thoſe who landed were ſlain, and many wounded; one Dutch frigate was ſunk, after loſing almoſt her whole crew. General Talmarſh, commander in the expedition, died of his wounds at Plymouth. Sir John Dalrymple, in attempting to deſcribe the particulars of this tranſaction, ſeems to labour under an idea of guilt and infamy, which the weakneſs of human language is incapable of expreſſing. He ſays, that the "intention "was betrayed to the late king, by intelligence in the ſpring from "Lord Godolphin, firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and afterwards "by a letter from Lord Marlborough, eldeſt lieutenant-general "in the ſervice, of date the 4th of May, in the ſame way as "a project againſt Toulon *was betrayed two years afterwards* "*by Lord Sunderland.*"* The letter from Marlborough was tranſmitted to France by Sackfield, a Britiſh major-general. A copy of it has been publiſhed by Mr. Macpherſon.† In this epiſtle, Marlborough complains, that Ruſſel, though he knew the plan, *always denied it.* "This," ſaid he, "gives me a bad ſign of this "man's intentions." His fears were groundleſs, for Ruſſel himſelf was in a private correſpondence with James, who had given inſtructions "to him, the Duke of Leeds, the Lords Shrewſ-"bury, Godolphin and Marlborough, *and others*, to create de-"lays in the fitting out of the fleet."‡ Talmarſh, or Talmache, for his name is differently ſpelt, had himſelf once been in private connections with the friends of James, and when dying, complained, that he had fallen by the treachery of his countrymen.‖ The facts ſtated in this narrative are authenticated by the correſpondence of the parties, which is ſtill extant in the hand writings of ſome of themſelves.§ Ruſſel "and others," might as well have cut the throats of Talmache and his men, in Smithfield market. About the end of the reign of Queen Anne, Har-

* Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, Part III. Book 3d.

† State Papers, quarto edition, vol. I. page 487.

‡ Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, Part III. Book 3d.

‖ Ibid.

§ The inſtructions by James about retarding the expedition to Breſt, are publiſhed by Mr. Macpherſon in his State Papers, vol. I. p. 456.

y, Earl of Oxford, found it convenient to pretend an attachent to the family of Stuart. He obtained the original letter om Marlborough to James the ſecond; and as the Duke had gun to be troubleſome, Harley gave him notice that this letr had been procured, and conſequently that his life was in danr. The Duke immediately retired from England.* His ſhare betraying the Breſt expedition is leſs criminal than a practice ged againſt him by Earl Pawlet, who once told him to his face the houſe of peers, "that he ſacrificed his officers in deſperate aſſaults, *for the ſake of ſelling their commiſſions.*"† This was e *great* Duke of Marlborough, for ſuch we continue to call im. In the landing of the Britiſh troops at Breſt, the Marquis Caermarthen behaved with great bravery, while his own faher, Lord Caermarthen, was along with Ruſſel and Co. betrayg the country.

The following detail exhibits perfidy of a different ſpecies. In 696, the public credit of England had ſunk very greatly. To lieve it, parliament, by the perſuaſion of Mr. Montague, chanllor of the exchequer, permitted him to iſſue exchequer bills the extent of two millions and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. o encourage the currency of theſe bills, "it had been provided, that from the date of their being paid upon taxes into the exchequer, they ſhould be entitled to ſeven and an half per cent. of intereſt."‡ The legal intereſt of money was that time x per cent. To raiſe the intereſt of a bill by one and an half, it as only requiſite that he holder ſhould indorſe it to ſome friend, ho would preſent it at a cuſtom-houſe or exciſe office, and then, hrough its merit in having circulated, the next indorſee, who ccepted it from the exchequer was entitled, inſtead of ſix, to he ſeven and an half per cent. of intereſt. This appears to have een the ſcope of the ſcheme. The proceſs was plain and protable; and if Montague had been ambitious of transforming he whole Britiſh nation into paper-jobbers, he could not have eviſed a more dexterous expedient. We may be quite certain hat every bill, when firſt iſſued from the exchequer, would re urn with the velocity of lightning. But the moſt beautiful part f the tranſaction is yet in reſerve. "Mr. Duncombe, and Mr. Knight, Receiver-General of the Exciſe, both members of *the houſe*, and others like them, officers of the revenue, put falſe endorſements on many of the bills before they had been circulated at all; by which Duncombe acquired a fortune of *four hundred thouſand pounds.*"‖ The ſum is either exaggerated, r the value of the exchequer bills muſt have exceeded two mil

* Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, Part III. Book 3d.
† Smollet's Hiſtory of Queen Anne.
‡ Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, Part III. Book 4.
‖ Ibid.

lions and ſeven hundred thouſand pounds, for even on *the whole* of the latter ſum, a profit of one and an half per cent. comes only to forty thouſand five hundred pounds. Perhaps Duncombe and his aſſociates had been guilty of other practices of the ſame kind, and his ſhare of the total plunder may have amounted to four hundred thouſand pounds. "It was proved that he had "owned the truth of the *complaint*. (A very gentle kind of term "for forgery.) They (Knight and Duncombe) were both ex- "pelled the houſe, and a bill paſſed the commons to fine Mr. "Duncombe (in) half his eſtate; but it was rejected in the houſe "of lords by the caſting vote of the Duke of Leeds." About two years before, this ineſtimable peer had been impeached by the houſe of commons for receiving, from the governors of the Eaſt-India company, a bribe of five thouſand guineas. This money had been kept for about a year and an half; and, according to evidence, delivered at the bar of the houſe, it was then returned to the witneſs, "becauſe the Duke's ſervant's getting it was "*making a noiſe*."* This nobleman was at that very time lord preſident of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council, and betraying to James the ſecond the project of the Breſt expedition. We need not then ſcruple much to believe Sir John Dalrymple, when he ſays, that, in the caſe of Duncombe, "*private* money "was ſuſpected to have had influence with a number of the "peers." Lord Cheſterfield had ſome reaſon for terming that houſe an hoſpital of *incurables*. By the ſtatute law of England, Duncombe, and all his confederates, ought to have ſuffered death; but it is difficult to hang a man with four hundred thouſand pounds in his pocket.

In 1695, Sir John Fenwick, a major-general, had been engaged with ſome others, in a project for a rebellion in England, and had, on its diſcovery, fled. Some time after he returned, was found out, and arreſted. To ſave his life, he tranſmitted to William an account of the treaſonable correſpondence of Godolphin, Marlborough, Ruſſel, and other *whigs of diſtinction* with James. His accuſation "is now known to have been in all "points *true*;" and as there was only *one* evidence againſt him, of his ſhare in the conſpiracy, "he could not be convicted in a "court of law, which required *two*." William was thoroughly acquainted with the real character of the perſons thus accuſed by Fenwick; but he durſt not come to an open rupture with ſuch powerful offenders. The charge was therefore ſmothered; but the perſons, whom Fenwick had accuſed, "believed that they "could not be ſafe *as long as he lived*." A bill of attainder was therefore brought into parliament againſt him, and his late friend Ruſſel appeared at the head of the proſecution. The bill paſt

* Memoirs of Great Britain and Ireland, Part III. Book 3.

through the houſe of commons by an hundred and eighty-nine voices againſt an hundred and fifty-ſix. In the upper houſe, it had only a majority of ſeven. Gilbert Burnet, that *right reverend father in God*, by a long ſpeech, "exhauſted all the chica-"nery of the law, and all the *hypocriſy of the church*, to vindi-"cate proceedings, which exceeded the injuſtice of the worſt "precedents of Charles the ſecond, and his ſucceſſor. But by "a mixture of vanity and ſhame, although he inſerted the ſpeech "in his hiſtory, he did not avow that he was the perſon who "made it." On the 28th of January, 1696, Sir John Fenwick was, "*without evidence or law*," beheaded on Tower-Hill. Lady Fenwick having feared the teſtimony of a perſon, ſhe attempted to bribe him to fly the kingdom. The accuſers directed this wretch to place people behind a curtain to overhear the offer; "and this attempt of a wife to ſave her huſband's life from dan-"ger, *was turned into an evidence of his guilt*."* Theſe are the words of an hiſtorian, who is himſelf a profeſſed *whig*, who has been a lawyer, and is now a judge. It appears, therefore, that in the cloſe of the laſt century, the majority of a Britiſh parliament committed a deliberate murther; and that they did ſo under the pretence of puniſhing a conſpirator, while, at the ſame time, a conſiderable number of themſelves were partners in his guilt. Contraſted with ſo black a ſcene, there is nothing remarkable in the ruin of Britiſh tobacconiſts, or in the accuſation ſo bluntly advanced by the keeper of the Fleet-priſon. The king himſelf, when he conſented to this bill, muſt have been altogether conſcious of its criminality; but ſpecks of that kind cannot tarniſh the purity of ſo luminous a character.

Since the Norman conqueſt, England has been governed, including Oliver Cromwell, by thirty-three ſovereigns; and of theſe, two-thirds were, each of them, by an hundred different actions, deſerving of the gibbet.† Yet the people, over whom they ruled, ſeem to have been, for the moſt part, quite worthy of ſuch maſters, and to have been as perfectly diveſted of every honourable feeling, *as majeſty itſelf*. In evidence of this truth, let us examine the hiſtory of a circumſtance in the reign of Charles the ſecond, that provoked more than uſual indignation. At that time, there exiſted no national debt; but when the parliament had voted ſupplies, it was common for bankers, and wealthy individuals, to advance money to the exchequer, on the faith of

* Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, Part III. Book 7.

† Edward II. Richard II. and Henry VI. appear to have been peaceable men. They were all murdered. Edward Vth is ſuppoſed, when a boy, to have ſhared the ſame fate. Of Edward VI. the exit is not free from ſuſpicion. Queen Anne was, upon the whole, a harmleſs woman; and every Engliſhman acknowledges with gratitude and with pride, that the virtues of the houſe of Brunſwick tranſcend all praiſe.

repayment, when the produce of the grants thus voted came into the public treaſury. On the 2d of January, 1672, the exchequer was indebted to the bankers and others in the amount of one million, three hundred and twenty-eight thouſand, five hundred and twenty-ſix pounds; and on this day, Charles ſuſpended payment. A bankruptcy, for ten times that ſum, would not affect, with an equal degree of ruin, the preſent commerce of England. The king, however, charged his hereditary revenue with the legal intereſt of this ſum at ſix *per cent.* and this was actually and regularly paid, till about a year before his death, when it was ſtopped. As he advanced the intereſt with punctuality for ſo long a time, we may candidly judge that his failure in the end aroſe from neceſſity. Sir John Sinclair ſays, that the ſhutting up of the exchequer "will for ever ſtamp the character of "Charles the ſecond with *the moſt indelible infamy.*"* His character was, upon a thouſand other emergencies, ſo completely *ſtamped*, that any ſingle crime could have added little to the accompt. But the point in queſtion is to prove, that in this very affair, Charles, bad as he was, behaved with greater honeſty than *any body elſe.* Nay, he poſitively acted with ten thouſand times more regard to juſtice than Lord Somers, who is commonly reputed to have been the moſt virtuous and immaculate perſonage in the ſanctified corps of revolution whigs. When Charles could no longer pay the intereſt of the money, the unfortunate creditors attempted, but in vain, to intereſt the legiſlature in their behalf. "They "were at laſt obliged to maintain their rights in the courts of "juſtice. The ſuit was protracted for *about twelve years* in the "courts below, but judgment was obtained againſt the crown, "about the year 1697. The deciſion, however, was ſet aſide by "Lord Somers, then chancellor; though it is ſaid that ten out "of the twelve judges, whom he had called to his aſſiſtance were "of a different opinion. The cauſe was at laſt carried by appeal "to the houſe of lords, by whom the decree of the chancellor "was reverſed; and the patentees would of courſe have receiv-"ed *the annual intereſt contained in the original letters patent*, had "not an act paſſed *anno* 1699, by which, in lieu thereof, it was "enacted, that after the 25th of December, 1705, the hereditary revenue of exciſe ſhould ſtand charged with the annual "payment of THREE *per cent.* for the principal ſum contained in "the ſaid letters patent, ſubject nevertheleſs to be redeemed "upon the payment of a moiety thereof, or ſix hundred and "ſixty-four thouſand, two hundred and ſixty-three pounds."†

The good people of Britain ſpeak with as much fluency of French and Spaniſh treachery, as if we had engroſſed in our own

* Hiſtory of the public revenue, part II. chap. 3.
† Ibid.

perſons the whole integrity of the human race. Yet it will be difficult to find a ſingle tranſaction, in any age, that more thoroughly blackens the character of an entire nation than the robbery of theſe creditors. The perfidy of Charles himſelf is forgot in the ſuperior blaze of ſubſequent ſcoundreliſm. Firſt, the flaming parliamentary patriots of that time refuſed to trouble themſelves about the matter; though *their* piety was ſo deeply alarmed by the proſpect of a Popiſh ſucceſſor to the crown. In the ſecond place, the claim became a queſtion in *the courts below*. That the re-payment of this thirteen hundred thouſand pounds ſhould ever have been an object of heſitation at all, was, in itſelf, an utter diſgrace to the whole ſyſtem of Engliſh juriſprudence. The law-ſuit laſted for *twelve years*. During this time, and while the court of London rolled in luxury, many of the creditors muſt have gone to jail, or at leaſt, many ſubordinate creditors, whom the former, in conſequence of this fraud, were unable to ſatisfy. An immenſe number of families muſt have been reduced to beggary; and a croud of honeſt fathers and huſbands muſt have died of a broken heart. At length a deciſion was obtained, and approved by ten out of the twelve judges. The creditors were to receive the annual intereſt of their money. Why they ſhould not have been warranted to recover the principal ſum itſelf, muſt remain among other ſecrets of the deep. A thouſand racked bankrupts rejoiced in the proſpect of reſtitution.

> Till at the laſt, a cruel ſpoiler came,
> Cropt this fair flower, and rifled all its ſweetneſs.

The deciſion was reverſed by Somers, the lord chancellor, a ſage, who exhibited in his own perſon the very focus of whig virtue.* This conduct reminds us of the proverb, that *the receiver is as bad as the thief*. Charles paid the intereſt of the money as long as he could. Somers would pay nothing. It is therefore indiſputable that, of the two rogues, the *receiver* was in this inſtance, by much the greater. The houſe of lords reverſed ſo ſcandalous a decree, but mark what follows. An act of parliament was immediately paſſed, which, in oppoſition to every

* "One of thoſe divine men, who, like a chapel in a palace, remain unpro-
"phaned, while all the reſt is tyranny, corruption, and folly. All the tradition-
"al accounts of him, the hiſtorians of the laſt age, and its beſt authors, repre-
"ſent him as *the moſt uncorrupt lawyer* and *the honeſteſt ſtateſman*; as a maſter orator,
"a genius of the fineſt taſte, and as a patriot of the nobleſt and moſt extenſive
"views; as a man, who diſpenſed bleſſings by his life, and planned them for
"poſterity." Catalogue of royal and noble authors by Horace Walpole. Art. SOMERS. The writer proceeds in a rhapſody of five pages to the ſame purpoſe. He appeals to the hiſtorians and *the beſt authors* of the laſt age. It is likely that none of theſe encomiaſts had been creditors to the Engliſh exchequer, in the reign of Charles the ſecond. But the panegyrics of all mankind cannot convert an act of arrant robbery into an act of juſtice. The hiſtorians to whom Mr. Walpole appeals, prove nothing but how vilely the Britiſh annals have commonly been compoſed.

principle of law, of juſtice, and of decency, interfered with the deciſion of a judicial court. To conſummate the infamy of the Engliſh houſe of peers, they conſented as *legiſlators*, to the reverſal of their own deciſion as *judges*, thus demonſtrating their invulnerable contempt for all veſtige of reputation. In the end, payment was delayed for more than five additional years, and then, the *half* of the legal intereſt was begun to be paid annually, but redeemable on refunding *half* of the ſum originally ſtolen. The reader will obſerve in what kind of milk and water ſtyle Sir John Sinclair has related this ſtory. He has made a ſubſequent but ſmall miſtake, in ſaying that the creditors were kept for *twenty-five* years out of their money. From a year before the death of Charles the ſecond,* to the 25th of December, 1705, is a period of leſs than twenty-*three* years. At ſix *per cent.* of compound intereſt, a ſum doubles itſelf once in eleven years, and three hundred and thirty-one days, or twice, in twenty-three years and about ten months. For the ſake of round numbers, let us reduce the original debt to thirteen hundred thouſand pounds, and ſuppoſe that it doubled *twice* during the time when payment of intereſt was ſuſpended. At this rate, the merchants had in December, 1705, loſt five millions and two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, beſides their expences in a law-ſuit of twelve years. In compenſation, parliament granted them an annuity of three *per cent.* on the original ſum, that is to ſay, *thirty-nine thouſand eight hundred and fifty-five pounds, ſeventeen ſhillings and ſeven pence ſterling.* At ſix *per cent.* the annual intereſt of five millions and two hundred thouſand pounds amounted to three hundred and twelve thouſand pounds. Thus parliament gave ſomewhat more than an *eighth* part of what the merchants had actually loſt. We now ſee that the felonious ravages of an Engliſh government are not reſtricted to Scots Highlanders. With ſuch a gulph of iniquity yawning on every ſide, we are tempted to think ourſelves peruſing the Tyburn Chronicle. The real cauſe for ſhutting up the exchequer was yet more diſreputable than the act itſelf. Charles had declared war againſt the Dutch, for the ſame reaſon that a Dey of Algiers declares it.† The conteſt had coſt more than five millions ſterling. His parliament refuſed to relieve him from the preſſure of ſome of

* He died on the 6th of February, 1684.

† "The wars which the king entered into againſt the Dutch, were principally with a view *of plundering a wealthy*, and, as he imagined, a *defenceleſs* neighbour." Hiſtory of the public revenue, part 1. chap. 9. The war, begun by the commonwealth of England againſt Holland, in 1652, was likewiſe unprovoked by the latter. In theſe three quarrels more lives were loſt, and more miſchief done, than has been committed by all the corſairs of Barbary ever ſince, and yet we pretend to call theſe people *pirates*, while the far more extenſive enormities of the Britiſh navy, are burniſhed into pages of heroiſm. In the practice of ſea-robbery England has exceeded every other nation. Vid. ſome account of theſe three wars, infra. chap. 6th.

the expences. The king offered to make any man treaſurer, who would remove his neceſſities. Clifford embraced the propoſal, and the exchequer was cloſed. The Dutch wars were infinitely more criminal than even this action, but theſe were only piracies abroad; the other was piracy at *home*; and for that reaſon only has it been condemned. In 1655, Oliver Cromwell, without either provocation or pretence, attacked Spain; and we ſtill celebrate the Algerine victories of admiral Blake over the fleets of that injured country, which proves that the nation has not yet acquired more wiſdom or honeſty, than its anceſtors. A very modern example of profligacy ſhall cloſe this chapter.

Sixty thouſand pounds were granted by parliament to George the Third, that he might be enabled to make an eſtabliſhment for his eldeſt ſon. Fifty thouſand pounds a year were likewiſe beſtowed upon this young man for his perſonal expences. An hundred and eighty-one thouſand pounds have ſince been aſſigned by parliament for his works at Carleton-houſe, and for the diſcharge of debts which he had contracted notwithſtanding his penſion of fifty thouſand pounds a year.† Ten thouſand pounds *per annum*, like a drop in the bucket, were alſo added to his allowance, that he might never be under the neceſſity of incurring new debts. It is ſaid, however, that the ſum thus entruſted, was never applied to the diſcharge of his debts; and at leaſt one circumſtance is certain, that the prince of Wales continues to be on the wrong ſide of the hedge, by many hundred thouſands of pounds. A gentleman, who had the beſt acceſs to information, hath privately ſtated them to be at leaſt a million ſterling. It is reported, that great numbers of London tradeſmen have been compelled to ſhut up their ſhops, in conſequence of their unfortunate connection with this bankrupt. His ſtud of horſes has more than once been ſold for much leſs than theſe animals originally coſt him. The taſk of recording his exploits, muſt be reſerved for the pen of ſome future Suetonius. At the preſent time (September, 1792,) it may be ſafely computed, that in one ſhape or other, he has expended for the nation eight hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. We may compare this mode of exhauſting the public treaſury, with that employed in the highlands of Scotland to repleniſh it.

On a ſubject ſo hateful, there can be no pleaſure to expatiate. Indeed, the taſte of the nation runs in a very oppoſite channel. We can hardly open a newſpaper, without meeting a rhapſody on the virtues and abilities of the prince of Wales. His admirers, like the ſpaniel that licks the foot raiſed to kick him, are not contented with general praiſe. They tell us, in tranſports of exultation, that he gave a thouſand guineas for "an *admirable* ſnuff-

† Hiſtory of the public revenue, part III. chap. 2.

box;" that, upon a late birth-day, he appeared at court in a ſuit of cloaths, which, including diamonds, coſt eighty thouſand pounds; that he bought a race-horſe for fifteen hundred guineas, and ſold him for ſeventy pounds; that he was preſent ſometime ago at a boxing match, where a ſhoemaker was ſtruck dead with a ſingle blow; and that he drove a lady round St. James's Park, or that ſhe drove him, no matter which, in a phaeton, with four black ponies.†

For theſe ineſtimable ſervices, the nation has paid eight hundred thouſand pounds; a ſum loſt in the bottomleſs pit of Carleton houſe. How many future millions are, like Curtius, to be ſwallowed up in the ſame gulph, time only can determine. Since this country had the honor of eſtabliſhing a houſehold for the prince of Wales, we have been burdened with additional taxes upon ſnuff and tobacco, on paper, advertiſements, leather, perfumery, horſes, attornies, batchelors, ſtage-coaches, gloves, hats, male and female ſervants,‡ pedlars and ſhop-keepers; upon windows, candles, medicines, bills and receipts; upon newſpapers and partridges; and if any thing can be yet more impertinent or oppreſſive, on births, burials and legacies; beſides other impoſitions beyond the retention of perhaps the ſtrongeſt memory. Now, it is remarkable, that ten of theſe taxes might be ſelected, which, by their nett produce, could not, in whole, have diſcharged the expences of this ſingle private perſon. We are inceſſantly deafened about our obligations to the houſe of Guelph. It would be but candid to ſtate an eſtimate of their obligations to us, and to ſtrike the balance.

In North-America, there are ſometimes found the bones of a carniverous quadruped, which muſt have been, when alive, three or four times larger than the elephant. This animal, which may likely have been amphibious, appears now to be extirpated. Perhaps it periſhed from an impoſſibility of obtaining adequate ſubſiſtence. A foreſt thirty leagues in length would have been inſufficient to furniſh food for ſo formidable a gueſt. It is poſſible that *the ſpecies of kings* may, one day, come to be extirpated for a ſimilar reaſon. The gluttony of the mammoth, devouring ſix buffaloes for a breakfaſt, bears no proportion to the ordinary

† It is very generally whiſpered and believed, that an *illuſtrious* perſonage ſhot one of his footmen dead with a piſtol, for diſreſpect to a woman. If this be true, the life of Dr. Philip Withers has not been the only ſacrifice at that ſhrine; nor will Morocco be in future, the only country in the world governed by an executioner.

In the London Chronicle, I read, many years ago, an article ſtating, that a very young naval officer, *whoſe name was inſerted at full length*, had ſtabbed one of his ſervants. There was never any farther notice in the newſpapers of this ſtory; but I have ſince learned, that the man died of his wound; and that a ſailor on board of the ſhip where the murder was committed, underwent a ſham trial for it, and was diſcharged.

‡ The latter tax ought to have been entitled a receipe for female idleneſs, theft and proſtitution.

extent of royal rapacity. Two hundred families of ſovereigns, like thoſe of France or England, would, of themſelves, be ſufficient for conſuming the whole revenues of Europe.

In the courſe of a century, from the revolution to Michaelmas, 1788, the pilots of our moſt excellent conſtitution, have received into the Britiſh exchequer, one thouſand millions, ſix hundred and forty-four thouſand, one hundred and fifty-four pounds ſterling.* It will be hard to prove, that even a twentieth part of this money has been expended on wiſe or uſeful purpoſes. To this we muſt add the charge of collecting the revenue for the ſame period, which, on a medium, can be gueſſed at ſix hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*. This rate extends, in an hundred years, to ſixty millions of pounds ſterling, deburſed for the invaluable exploits of cuſtom-houſe and exciſe officers. Such a ſum, at a compound intereſt of five *per cent.* computing from the reſpective dates of its annual expenditure, would, by this time, have been large enough to buy up, in fee ſimple, the Britiſh iſlands, with the laſt acre, and the laſt guinea that they contain.

CHAPTER II.

Fertility of the Hebrides—Iſlay—Its prodigious improvement—Immenſe abundance of fiſh—Miſerable effects of exciſe—Salt and coal duties—Specimen of Scots ſinecures.

WE have, in the laſt chapter, learned ſome of the circumſtances that prevent the improvement of Scots fiſheries. We ſhall now return to that ſubject, by a farther examination of Dr. Anderſon's performance. Other writers have caſt light on this queſtion, and well deſerve to be quoted. But the preſent work embraces an immenſe multiplicity of objects; and hence, it becomes requiſite to condenſe and abridge our materials. There is not to be expected, in this place, a complete account of the ſituation of the inhabitants in the northern counties, and in the iſlands of Scotland. A few intereſting facts only will be ſtated; ſome ſhocking abuſes of government will be exhibited; and ſome obvious reflections will be ſubmitted to the public. By a ſketch of this kind, the ſpirit of curioſity and of enquiry may perhaps be excited; and then every perſon is able, at his own convenience, to make himſelf maſter of the caſe. This may be reſolved into three points, the natural advantages of the country itſelf, the miſerable conſequences reſulting from the tyranny of parliament, and the numerous benefits that would ariſe from an honeſt and beneficent adminiſtration.

* Hiſtory of the public revenue, part III. chap. I.

It has commonly been ſuppoſed, that the Hebrides were barren and unfit for agriculture. On the contrary, Dr. Anderſon ſtates, that they contain extenſive fields of unuſual fertility. Many tracts which have never been ploughed are capable to produce corn, and to ſupply ſubſiſtence for a multitude of people. Arran excepted, which is very mountainous, the weſtern iſlands are for the moſt part level. Tiree, for example, is one continued plain of fine arable land, with only two ſmall hills. The weſt ſide of Barra, of Uiſt, and of Harris, and the whole of the iſlands between theſe, as well as the north-weſt ſide of Lewis, are low lands. They are one entire bed of ſhell-ſand, and extremely fruitful. Dr. Anderſon, who is himſelf a farmer of experience, obſerves, that the fields of ſhell-ſand, when well cultivated, and properly manured with ſea-weed, give crops of barley, which cannot, as he imagines, be equalled in any part of Europe. He adds, that were he to ſpecify the particulars, they would not obtain credit. The crops of peaſe and rye are very luxuriant: and he ſuppoſes that turnips, lucerne, ſainfoin, and wheat, might be raiſed in as great perfection there, as any where in this quarter of the world. Lime-ſtone, marl, and ſhell-ſand, *are every where to be met with in great plenty*. The iſlands of Cannay and Egg, conſiſt of ſeveral rows of baſaltic columns raiſed one above each other. The ground is not level, but the ſoil is very fertile. The rocks of Liſmore conſiſt entirely of lime-ſtone, and the land is fruitful, even to a proverb. The climate of the weſtern iſlands is more favourable, and the harveſt for the moſt part more early than on the oppoſite coaſt of Scotland. During ſummer, the wind blows commonly from the ſouth-weſt, and of conſequence it is loaded with clouds from the Atlantic. The high lands on the weſtern coaſts intercept theſe clouds, and the rain deſcends in torrents. But in the iſlands the ground is low. The clouds paſs over them without obſtruction. There is uſually leſs rain in ſummer than the inhabitants would deſire. The harveſt is more early and more certain than on the continent. In Iſlay, the crops are commonly ſecured before the end of September; a more early ſeaſon than in Eaſt Lothain, the beſt corn country of Scotland. Among the weſtern iſlands, where the ſoil is not ſhell-ſand, the ſurface very frequently conſiſts of moſſy earth. When manured with ſhell-ſand, it becomes at once capable of bearing excellent crops of grain. When afterwards laid into graſs, it becomes covered with a fine ſwaird, conſiſting chiefly of white clover and the poa-graſſes; ſo that this improved ſoil becomes in future equally adapted for corn or paſture. Thoſe hills, which cannot be ploughed, are yet ſuſceptible of the greateſt improvement. When covered with that ſort of manure which is every where plentiful and inexhauſtible, they immediately obtain a fine pile of delicate and perennial graſs.

As an evidence of what may be accompliſhed in the Hebrides, by the joint efforts of induſtry and judgment, we may conſider the proceedings of Walter Campbell, Eſquire, of Shawfield, proprietor of Iſlay. About twelve years before Dr. Anderſon came to viſit it, this iſland, like moſt of the Hebrides, at preſent, had no roads on which carriages could be drawn, no bridges, no public work of any kind. It contained leſs than ſeven thouſand people; and it imported annually, between three and four thouſand bolls of grain. Thus, if ſhut out from the reſt of the world, the inhabitants muſt have expired of hunger. They were diſcontented; and they had begun to emigrate. Their departure was interrupted by the very judicious war againſt America, which commenced for a duty of three pence *per* pound upon tea, and terminated with an expence of one hundred and thirty-nine millions ſterling. Now, let us conſider the ſtate of this iſland in the year 1785. In ſpite of the intervention of a bloody war, that laſted for ſeven years and an half out of the twelve, and checked all ſorts of improvement in all parts of the empire, the population had augmented to ten thouſand ſouls. Theſe, inſtead of importing their ſubſiſtence, *exported* annually, about five thouſand bolls of grain, three thouſand ſix hundred head of black cattle, between three and four hundred horſes, and about thirty-ſix thouſand ſpindles of yarn, all of their own produce and manufacture. Thirty miles of excellent roads had already been formed. A great number of uſeful bridges were erected. A well-conſtructed pier had been built. A town was begun; and its inhabitants multiplied with rapidity. Markets were opened for the produce of the land. Large tracts of barren ground were annually brought into culture. The people were induſtrious and ſatisfied. This rapid improvement was atchieved, in a poor and ſequeſtered iſland, by the exertions of a ſingle private gentleman.* Hence, it ſeems evident, that if the reſt of Scotland had been governed with equal wiſdom, its wealth, population, importance, and felicity, muſt, at the ſame time, have increaſed in a ſimilar proportion. From ſixteen hundred thouſand people, we ſhould, in twelve years, have multiplied to two millions and three hundred thouſand. At the ſame time, Scotland muſt have

* Dr. Anderſon obſerved to a friend, that part of the ſuperior good ſenſe of mr. Campbell aroſe from his happineſs in being born *a younger brother*. He did not obtain the eſtates of the family till he had reached the maturity of his underſtanding; when the death of an elder ſon, without children, put him into poſſeſſion of them. Such is the ridiculous conſequence of the right of primogeniture, that it not only half-beggars the reſt of the family, but in two caſes out of three, the object of its favour has a very great chance for being a blockhead. Every body may remark, at a grammar ſchool, that heirs are in general the moſt idle, ignorant, and vicious of all the boys. Out of theſe hopeful materials our future parliaments are to be formed.

been able to export grain in much greater quantities than what ſhe at preſent imports. The agriculture of the country muſt very ſoon have doubled its productions. The exiſtence of ſeven hundred thouſand additional people, in twelve years only, hath been prevented by the magic wands of five or ſix hundred cuſtom-houſe and exciſe officers.

It is remarkable, that though the *free* government of Britain cannot perform revolutions like that effected by Mr. Campbell, yet a taſk of this nature has, within our own days, been executed by one of the moſt inflexible deſpots that ever menaced mankind. In the year 1763, the dominions of Frederick the Great had been reduced to the utmoſt diſtreſs. The king himſelf, in his poſthumous memoirs, obſerves, that "no deſcrip-"tion, however pathetic, can poſſibly approach to the deep, the "afflicting, the mournful impreſſion, which *the ſight of them* "*inſpired.*" Among other particulars, he tells us, that they had loſt *five hundred thouſand inhabitants*. Thirteen thouſand houſes had been razed from the earth; and the whole nation, from the noble to the peaſant, were in rags that hardly covered their nakedneſs. In about eight years of peace, the breaches of population were perfectly repaired, and the whole country became as flouriſhing as ever. Thus, what Mr. Campbell acted upon a ſmall ſcale, was done by Frederick upon a greater. There is no doubt that Scotland itſelf might be improved as quickly as the iſland of Iſlay. For inſtance, Dr. Anderſon remarks, that within the laſt fifty years, a very great alteration for the better has taken place in the neighbourhood of Aberdeen. Many thouſand acres of the moſt barren land that can be conceived, have been converted into excellent corn-fields; and he computes that, in conſequence of this change, the rent of this land has been augmented by more than thirty thouſand pounds ſterling *per annum*. The iron forge at Bunaw gives employment to ſeveral families. When they were planted near it, the ſoil was nothing but a bleak moſs with ſome dwarfiſh heath. Of this land, ſeveral hundred acres are now covered with graſs and corn. The ſteep mountain, at fort William, ſeemed by nature incapable of improvement; but is now overſpread with gardens and corn-fields. To theſe details by Dr. Anderſon, every perſon may, from his own obſervation, add others of the ſame kind. The hiſtory of the pariſh of Portpatrick, in the ſtatiſtical account of Scotland, affords an inſtance of how much may be done for a barren corner. What adds to the merit of the improvements in Iſlay is, that they were accompliſhed under the moſt oppreſſive ſyſtem of taxation which can be deviſed. The proprietor himſelf has encountered the moſt rancorous inſolence in carrying on the fiſhery, not only from the commiſſioners of the ſalt duties, but from a petty officer of exciſe; and if he had not been a very able and powerful man, theſe harpies

might have reduced him to bankruptcy. We muſt not, therefore, complain of providence, becauſe the Hebrides, and a conſiderable part of the main land of Scotland, are ſtill in a ſtate of comparative deſolation. Induſtry lingers not for want of a richer ſoil, or a milder ſky, but for want of ſuch a legiſlator as Frederick ſometimes was, and ſuch landlords as Walter Campbell. It is not merely by the quality of the ſoil, that the Hebrides may become valuable. Mines of lead and copper have been found in Iſlay; and in Tyree and Skye, quarries of excellent marble have been diſcovered. Coal has been met with in ſeveral places, but a diſcovery of this nature muſt be uſeleſs, unleſs to the iſland where it may be dug; becauſe the coaſting duty upon coal would effectually prevent its being exported, even to the neighbouring iſlands. Their inhabitants live in ſcattered hamlets. They can buy but a ſmall quantity of coals at one time, poſſibly only half a ton. The expence of bringing an exciſe officer for thirty miles, perhaps, to inſpect the coals, an expence which the parties muſt pay, would often come, as before obſerved, to four times the price of the cargo. In the ſame way, if the natives had any cargo fit for a foreign market, they muſt, before they can ſail, obtain a clearance from the cuſtom-houſe. This would, in many caſes, coſt more than the worth of the cargo.

The circumſtance by which the Hebrides have as yet been principally diſtinguiſhed, is that immenſe quantity of excellent fiſh that fill the ſurrounding ſeas. It is unneceſſary here to mention the names of perhaps thirty different kinds, including a great variety of ſhell-fiſh; but let us remark the idiotiſm of the Engliſh government, when pretending to remit the ſalt duties for the ſake of encouraging the Scots fiſheries. The perſons who receive *bonded* ſalt are not ſuffered to catch any fiſh but herrings. They muſt carry their men, and boats, their nets, and ſalt, and caſks to the fiſhing ground. They muſt remain there for three months, and if a ſhoal of cod or turbot, of haddocks, of mullet, of ſoal, of flounders, or halybut, comes in their way, they are not at liberty to take them; but are condemned to ſpend theſe three months in perfect idleneſs,* unleſs they meet with a ſhoal of herrings. Yet it frequently happens that, but for this prohibition, they could load their veſſels with cargoes of other fiſh equally valuable. At the end of three months, they muſt bring their men, their boats, their nets, their ſalt, and their caſks, back to the cuſtom-houſe, before their ſalt bonds can be relieved. If there had been no other fiſh but herrings in the weſtern ſeas, an excuſe might have been made. But this is not the caſe. The dog-fiſh are ſometimes to be met with in ſuch vaſt numbers, that their back fins are ſeen like a thick buſh of ſedges above the wa-

* Report, p. 43.

ter, as far as the eye can reach. A boat-load in ſuch a ſhoal may be catched with a few hand-lines in an hour or two. A valuable oil is extracted from their liver. A fiſherman at Iſlay informed Dr. Anderſon, that he frequently baited a line with four hundred hooks, for the ſmaller flat-fiſh, and caught at one haul, three hundred and fifty. They conſiſted of turbot, ſoal, and large excellent flounders, of two or three pounds weight. As to ſkate and halybut, he could fill his boat with them, when he choſe it, at a ſingle haul. The quantity of herrings that ſometimes approach the coaſt, in one body, almoſt exceeds belief. In 1773, a ſhoal came into Loch Terridon. Many hundreds of boats were loaded as oft as the owners thought proper for two months; and the quantity caught in a ſingle night, has been computed, by Dr. Anderſon, at nineteen thouſand eight hundred barrels. Of the quantities brought aſhore upon ſuch occaſions, a great part are frequently ſuffered to putrify, for want of ſalt to cure them. The remainder are cured excluſively with Iriſh ſalt; for, in Dr. Anderſon's opinion, as already obſerved, five hundred thouſand people in the north of Scotland employ none elſe. Thus, on the one hand, the heavineſs of the tax defeats its own purpoſe, and on the other hand, as the ſmugglers of ſalt cannot obtain open leave to export their cargoes of fiſh, the buſineſs ends in a mere waſte and deſtruction. What better indeed was to be expected, when the inhabitants of the weſtern iſlands came under the domination of an aſſembly of paraſites, at the diſtance of two hundred leagues, an aſſembly who deſpiſe their intereſts, abhor their proſperity, and are ſufficiently diſpoſed even to exterminate their language? If Galgacus had ſubmitted to Julius Agricola, he would not have endured any ſuch abſurd deſpotiſm.

At Loch Carron, about the year 1775, herrings " were ſo " throng, that though the loch, from the narrow entry, is above " a league long, and in ſome places above a mile broad, and " from ſixty to four fathoms deep, it was indifferent to the fiſh- " ers whether their nets were near the ground or ſurface; they " were equally ſure to have them loaded. They continued in this " bay for five weeks. On the weſt ſide of Skye, I am informed, " they once ſwarmed ſo thick in Caroy loch, and ſo many were " caught, that they could not be carried off; and after the buſſes " were loaded, and the country round was ſerved, *the neighbour-* " *ing farmers made them up into compoſts, and manured their ground* " *with them the enſuing ſeaſon.* This ſhoal continued many years " upon the coaſt, but they were not in every year, nor in every " bay, ſo thick as this laſt; but were, for a number of years, ſo " much ſo, that all the buſſes made cargoes, and the whole coaſts " were abundantly ſerved.—At Loch Urn, in 1767, or 1768, " ſuch a quantity *ran on ſhore*, that the beach, for four miles

" round the head of the loch, was covered with them, from " ſix to eighteen inches deep; and the ground under water, ſo " far as it could be ſeen at low water, was equally ſo. I believe " the whole bay, from the narrow to the mouth, about twelve " miles long, and a league broad, was *full of them.* I am alſo " of opinion, that the ſtrongeſt fiſh being without, in forcing " their way into the inner bay, drove the lighteſt and weakeſt " on ſhore. So thick were theſe laſt, that they carried before " them every other kind of fiſh they met, even ground-fiſh, " ſkate, flounders, &c. and periſhed together."* With ſuch inconceivable quantities of fiſh at home, we can be under no neceſſity for wandering in queſt of employment, to Greenland, to Newfoundland, to Falkland's iſlands, or to Nootka Sound; and of obtaining a permiſſion for fiſhing ſo far off, at an expence of three millions ſterling. The true cauſe for ſuch conduct is ſhortly this. At the union, Scotland came under the yoke of an ancient enemy, by whom ſhe was equally feared and deteſted; and no advantage to the empire in general could compenſate to the pride of England, for the mortification of having promoted Scots opulence.†

In the year 1784, a ſhoal of herrings came into Loch Urn. Mr. M'Donell, of Barriſdale, gave it as his opinion, that in the courſe of ſeven or eight weeks, a quantity was caught, that, if brought to market, would have ſold for fifty-ſix thouſand pounds ſterling. Double the quantity might have been taken, but for the want of ſalt and of caſks. Were it not for the interruption of an exciſe, and ſome other obvious cauſes, the fiſhery buſineſs, in that quarter, would be more lucrative than any other that a labouring man can follow in any part of Britain.‡

Theſe examples prove what immenſe loads of fiſh might be killed, if the people had a proper ſupply of ſalt and of caſks for curing them, and a ſuitable market for ſelling them; ſo that they might be able to continue at the fiſhery during the whole time which it laſted. At preſent, the miſchief that is left undone by the exorbitant exciſe upon ſalt, is completed by the prepoſterous terms on which the bounty is granted. When a buſs has completed her cargo, *ſhe muſt abandon the fiſhing entirely;* and none of her

* Illuſtrations of the report, p. 158.

† The preſent method of paving and lighting the ſtreets of London, is, as an improvement, felt in the moſt ſenſible manner by all ranks and degrees of people. The plan of this work was borrowed from the high ſtreet of Edinburgh, and the very ſtones for the pavement were imported from Scotland. For the perſonal ſafety of the gentlemen concerned, and their families, theſe circumſtances were concealed from the rabble with the ſtricteſt caution. The ferocity of vulgar patriotiſm would not have ſuffered the acknowledgment of ſuch an obligation to North-Britain, a country, on which they daily exhauſt the vocabulary of Billingſgate. Vid. Dr. Wendeborn.

‡ Report, p. 14.

hands can return to it again in leſs than eight or ten weeks, before which time, the people of the buſs might have catched perhaps twenty loadings, *had they been permitted to remain.*

From the complicated and oppreſſive conditions upon which the bounty offered by parliament has been granted, there is ground to queſtion whether a ſingle penny of it has ever gone into the pockets of the fiſhermen. Firſt, the bounty would occaſion ſo great an expence to many of the more remote inhabitants of the Hebrides, that they are entirely out of the queſtion. Before a native of the weſtern coaſts or iſlands, can enter himſelf, even as a private mariner, on board one of thoſe veſſels, that apply for the bounty, he muſt go to Greenock, Rotheſay, or Campbelton, and there wait till he is engaged and muſtered. If this happens at one of the two former places, he proceeds to Campbelton to be rendezvouſed. Theſe marches and countermarches conſume a month or ſix weeks of time, and a great deal of money. At laſt he returns to the very ſpot from whence he ſet out.* Thus it would be impoſſible for a great part of the weſtern Highlanders, ever to ſend a buſs on ſuch a circuitous voyage, for they would be obliged to diſpatch her a ſecond time to the ſouth, to a ſecond rendezvous, and to be at the charge of her making a ſecond return home. She would thus be forced to perform *four* voyages inſtead of *two*. The door to the pretended bounty, that ſtoney piece of bread, is, by this means, both ſhut and bolted. Even to the buſſes that earn it, the bounty is but a mere deluſion. On the eaſtern coaſt of Scotland, the cuſtom-houſe fees, on fitting out ſuch a veſſel of thirty tons, are about ſeven pounds. The bounty is only forty-five pounds. The time waſted in going to a place of rendezvous, before ſhe ſails, and at her return, coſt a month of delay, and a charge of twenty pounds. Thus, more than one half of the bounty is already ſunk. In the ſecond place, ſhe is prohibited from catching any fiſh but herrings. On that account ſhe muſt have neither lines nor hooks on board. Though ſurrounded by whales and dog-fiſh, cod, ling, mackarel, and other aquatic tribes, that follow the herrings in vaſt numbers, the men in theſe veſſels, when herrings do not come in their way, are kept idle for weeks together, while charges multiply on the head of the undertaker.† A third heavy obſtruction is, that all the hands in the buſs muſt be muſtered at the cuſtom-houſe, not only before ſailing, but *after the veſſel returns*. Thus many fiſhers muſt be carried back to the rendezvous, who are ſuperfluous for navigating the buſs, and who would otherwiſe be left on the fiſhing-ground till the end of the ſeaſon; and this regulation alſo is very burdenſome to the owner. The bounty is thus utterly conſumed in comply-

* Report, p. 44.

† Illuſtrations of the report, p. 184.

ing with a syſtem of regulations, more fantaſtical than the conſulſhip of Caligula's horſe.*

Thoſe Hebrideans who cannot or do not embrace the terms of the bounty, are therefore at liberty to continue at the fiſhing as long as they pleaſe. They are idle or buſy, juſt as they are ſupplied with ſalt. When a ſmuggling ſalt-boat arrives, they will get perhaps ſix ſhillings *per* barrel for their herrings. As that ſalt is expended, the price falls to five, four, three, two, one ſhilling *per* barrel, and ſometimes to ſix-pence or eight-pence. At other times, you may purchaſe a barrel of fine freſh herrings for a ſingle quid of tobacco.† A barrel contains from ſix to ſixteen hundred herrings, according to their ſize.

It ſeems needleſs to enlarge much farther on the immenſe advantages that might be derived from this inexhauſtible reſource for the induſtry and ſubſiſtence of the Scots nation. If the bounties and taxes were at once aboliſhed, and the Dutch prohibited from interfering in the fiſhery, the Hebrides and the weſtern coaſts of Scotland, would, likely, in the courſe of thirty or forty years, quadruple their preſent population. It might with reaſon be expected, that thouſands of the Dutch mariners, who are at preſent employed in that buſineſs, would come and ſettle in the country. Multitudes would likewiſe flock from different quarters of Britain. Villages of manufacturers would by degrees be eſtabliſhed, and the Hebrides would preſent a proſpect of induſtry, of proſperity, and of

* Foreigners unacquainted with the current ſtyle of Britiſh converſation, may condemn compariſons like that in the text. Let us hear with what reverence the legiſlators of this country ſpeak and think of each other.

The Earl of Buchan hath juſt now publiſhed the lives of Fletcher, of Salton, and of James Thomſon. He there tells us, that he once ſaid to Lord Chatham, "What "will become of poor England, that doats on the imperfections of her *pretended* con-"ſtitution?" Chatham replied, "The gout will diſpoſe of me ſoon enough to prevent "me from feeling the conſequences of this *infatuation*; but, *before the end of this* "*century*, either the parliament will reform itſelf from *within*, or be reformed with "a vengeance from *without*." Thus ſpoke one of the maſters of the puppet-ſhew. It is beyond the compaſs of human language to expreſs the depth of contempt and deteſtation, couched under theſe few words.

On the 28th of February, 1785, Edmund Burke addreſſed the Houſe of Commons, concerning the aſtoniſhing compoſition made with the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot. In this affair, Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas were the principals, and he thus deſcribes their conduct: "Let no man hereafter talk of the decaying energies of nature. "All the acts and monuments in the records of peculation; the conſolidated cor-"ruption of ages; the patterns of exemplary plunder in the heroic times of Roman "iniquity, never equalled the gigantic corruption of *this ſingle act!* Never did Nero, "in all the inſolent prodigality of deſpotiſm, deal out to his prætorian guards, a "donation fit to be named with the largeſs ſhowered down, by the bounty of our "chancellor of the exchequer (Mr. Pitt,) on the faithful band of his Indian Sea-"poys."

A member in parliament, ſome years ago, told Sir John Miller, that he no more underſtood a ſubject which he had been ſpeaking on, than the animal above mentioned did the duties of *his* office. This elegant ſimile is to be found in the parliamentary debates. A note of the date has been miſlaid, but the quotation is perfectly correct.

† Illuſtrations of the report, p. 163.

happineſs, which the moſt ſanguine friend to national improvements can at preſent hardly conjecture. To make this aſſertion intelligible, and to ſhow what benefits may be derived from the Britiſh fiſheries, no writer can be cited with more propriety than John De Witt, Grand Penſioner of Holland. He informs us, on the authority of Sir Walter Raleigh, that in the year 1618, the Hollanders employed, on the coaſt of Britain, three thouſand ſhips, and fifty thouſand men; and that for tranſporting and ſelling the fiſh ſo taken, and bringing home the returns for them, they required nine thouſand additional ſhips, and one hundred and fifty thouſand men. Perhaps this eſtimate was exaggerated, but the real number of men and of ſhips, engaged in Britiſh fiſheries, muſt have been very great. De Witt quotes a Dutch writer, who relates, that in the ſpace of three days, in the year 1601, there ſailed out of Holland, to the eaſtward, between eight and nine hundred ſhips, and fifteen hundred buſſes for the herring fiſhery. The Grand Penſioner adds, that from the time of Sir Walter Raleigh, to the year 1667, the Dutch fiſheries had been increaſed one third part. He conjectures that the United Provinces contained two millions and four hundred thouſand people, and of theſe, that four hundred and fifty thouſand perſons derived their ſubſiſtence from the fiſheries, and the commerce and manufactures which depended upon them.* Theſe particulars are here ſpecified to prove that Dr. Anderſon has not, on this ſubject, made an extravagant ſuppoſition. He eſtimates that one hundred thouſand fiſhermen might find conſtant employment in the Britiſh ſea. He thinks, that if this number of fiſhermen were employed, there would likewiſe be wanted, twenty or thirty thouſand mariners for tranſporting the cargoes to market, and for bringing the neceſſary return of ſalt, of coals, of grain, of caſks, of the materials for ſhip-building, and the numberleſs articles dependent on an extenſive fiſhery.† Suppoſing that eighty thouſand of theſe mariners were married, and that the huſbands had, on an average, four children, the total amount of their families would be four hundred thouſand perſons. Theſe, added to an hundred and twenty thouſand ſeamen, would make, in whole, an addition of five hundred and twenty thouſand Britiſh *ſubjects*.‡ But this is not all.

* The True Intereſt and Political Maxims of Holland, part I, chapters 6 and 9, tranſlated by John Campbell, and printed at London, in 1746. Dr. Anderſon, in his Evidence before the committee of fiſheries, declares, on the authority of De Witt and others, that in the laſt century, two hundred and ſixty thouſand perſons were computed to be employed by Holland in the fiſheries alone. I mention theſe different numbers, without knowing how to reconcile them.

† Evidence before the committee, p. 317.

‡ This word, in its original ſenſe, implies ſomething that is *caſt down* and *trodden under foot*. When applied in its common acceptation, the choice of expreſſion is happy.

Theſe mariners and their families would not only ſupply a great part of the nation with an important article of ſubſiſtence, and thus leſſen the wages of labour, but they would afford, among themſelves, a wide market for the commodities of the farmer and manufacturer. They would thus, in a double way, promote the public intereſt. They would leſſen the expence of ſubſiſtence, and, at the ſame time, they would multiply the excitements to induſtry. The attainment of theſe two objects, is the very *Alpha* and *Omega* of national proſperity. We ſhould then ſee land, which gives not at preſent one ſhilling *per* acre of rent, produce from three to ſix pounds ſterling.* We ſhould ſee a barren waſte of ſtones and bogs, with ſcarce a ſingle blade of graſs upon it, converted into luxuriant crops of wheat and clover. Manufacturing villages would riſe in the wilderneſs, that is now only diſtinguiſhed by monumental veſtiges of the Picts or the Druids. The farmers and manufacturers would very likely increaſe to an equal number with that of the fiſhermen, and Britain might thus acquire an augmentation of a million and forty thouſand inhabitants. The example of Holland ſhews that this conjecture is not chimerical. As the Hebrides and weſtern coaſts of Scotland, contain by far the greateſt and moſt important part of this fiſhery, they would have a chance of acquiring an addition of ſeven hundred thouſand people. An hundredth part of the millions expended upon an ordinary French war, muſt have been ſufficient to found a colony of fiſhermen in the Hebrides, worth all our foreign poſſeſſions put together. But ſuch a colony would not have anſwered the purpoſes of miniſterial corruption. They would not have entangled us in a quarrel with the reſt of Europe. They would not have ſupplied our rulers with a plauſible pretence for loading the public with extravagant taxes. Mr. Pitt ſpeaks of diſcharging the national debt, and of promoting the public proſperity. At the ſame time he accepts a Scots revenue of five thouſand pounds, that is raiſed at an expence of ten thouſand. He gives half a guinea per day to bludgeon-men to drive the electors of John Horne Tooke from the huſtings at Weſtminſter; and an annuity of five hundred and ninety-five thouſand, two hundred pounds ſterling, to the immaculate creditors of the Nabob of Arcot.†

* This has actually happened in Aberdeenſhire. The reader may conſult an eſſay in the Bee. Vol. 7. p. 189.

† The particulars of this edifying tranſaction are to be found in the works of Edmund Burke, the boſom friend of the "heaven-born miniſter." A conciſe account of it will be given in the Political Progreſs, Part II. As to the Weſtminſter election, full information may be had from *Proceedings in an action for debt between the right honourable Charles James Fox, plaintiff, and John Horne Tooke, Eſq. defendant*, printed in 1792, of which alſo a ſummary is inſerted in chap. vii. When the legiſlature of a country conſiſts of ſuch characters, it is not wonderful that our ſtatute books are crowded with the moſt atrocious edicts. As one ſpecimen out of hundreds, obſerve what follows:

Of miniſterial vigilance in collecting the ſalt duties in the Scots Highlands, the following particulars will afford a proper conception. "In theſe caſes, the miſcarriage of a letter, "(and to places where no regular poſt goes, this muſt frequent-"ly happen,) the careleſsneſs of an ignorant ſhip-maſter, the "miſtake of a clerk in office, or other circumſtances, equally "trivial, often involve a whole induſtrious family in ruin. "There are inſtances of men being brought to Edinburgh, "from many hundred miles diſtance, to the neglect of their "own affairs, merely becauſe of ſome neglect or omiſſion of "ſome petty clerk in office; which, when rectified, brings "no other relief, excepting *a permiſſion to return home with "no farther load of debt, but the expence of ſuch a journey, "and the loſs it has occaſioned.* But ſhould the caſe be other-"wiſe, and ſhould the miſtake have been committed by the poor "countryman, though that miſtake originated *from ignorance "only*, or was occaſioned by the loſs of a letter, in going to "places where no regular poſts are eſtabliſhed, he becomes "loaded with additional burdens, which in many caſes, all "his future induſtry and care will never enable him to diſ-"charge.*

Dr. Smith, in his Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, adverts to the Scots herring fiſhery. He ſays, that during eleven years, from 1771, to 1781, incluſive, one hundred and fifty-five thouſand four hundred and ſixty three pounds, eleven ſhillings ſterling of bounties were paid on account of it. This was, in proportion to the whole quantity of herrings caught, a premium of twelve ſhillings and three pence, three farthings *per* barrel; and this kind of barrels are worth, upon an average, about a guinea.† Thus the legiſlature paid four-ſevenths of the market price of a barrel of herrings, as a bounty to the perſons who caught them. Two-thirds of the buſs-caught herrings are exported; and here, a ſecond bounty is given, of two ſhillings and eight-pence *per* barrel. The average number of veſſels employed for theſe eleven years was about one hundred and ninety-nine. "THREE THOUSAND "BUSSES have been known to be employed in one year by *the "Dutch* in the (Scots) herring fiſhery, beſides thoſe fitted out

In 1770, a law was made, which declares, "That all perſons killing game, on "any pretence whatever, above an hour before ſun-riſe, or after ſun-ſet, ſhall, with-"out reſpect to *ſex* or *quality*, and *without any alternative or redemption*, be com-"mitted to priſon for three months at leaſt; and be *publicly whipped at noon day*, "in the town where the priſon is ſituated." Thus, after giving government three guineas for leave to kill, upon your own ground, a hare that is dear of ſix-pence, you are, by this law, ſubject to be whipped for it, whatever may be your ſex or condition. This notable penalty hath ſince been reſtricted to a fine of five pounds ſterling.

* Illuſtrations of the report, p. 189.

† Inquiry, Book iv. chap. 5.

" by the Hamburghers, Bremeners, and other northern ports."* By the eſtimate of Sir Walter Raleigh, already cited, a Dutch buſs carries ſixteen hands and two-thirds. If we compute that the veſſels engaged in our fiſhery by foreign nations amount, all together, to four thouſand, and that each carries only twelve hands, here are forty-eight thouſand foreign ſailors reaping the maritime harveſt of Scotland. The bounty firſt promiſed by parliament for veſſels, was fifty ſhillings *per* ton. Mr. Guthrie ſays, that " the bounty was withheld *from* " *year to year*, while, in the mean time, the adventurers were " not only *ſinking their fortunes*, but alſo borrowing to *the* " *utmoſt limits of their credit*."† It was then reduced to thirty ſhillings. The veſſels are fitted out from the north-weſt parts of England, the north of Ireland, the ports of Clyde, " and *the neighbouring iſlands*."‡ As a complete demonſtration of Dutch good ſenſe, and of our own ſuperlative ſtupidity, we need only to obſerve that the Hollanders ſend out ten or fifteen times as many buſſes *without any bounty at all*, as the Britiſh parliament can collect by a bounty equal to four-ſevenths of the value of all the herrings taken; beſides the remiſſion of ſalt duties, and a ſubſequent bounty on exportation. Mr. Guthrie complains with juſtice, that " this noble " inſtitution, (viz. the bounty,) ſtill labours under many " difficulties, from the *caprice* and *ignorance* of the legiſlature." Thus, an hundred thouſand ſeamen, and perhaps a million of ſubjects, are loſt to Britain.

A committee of the Houſe of Commons, in one of their reports, acknowledge, " that the preſent duties upon coals " are *too high*, and operate more as a prohibition on the uſe " of the article, *than as a benefit to the revenue*."‖ The conſequences of the coal-tax are ſpecified in many paſſages of the ſtatiſtical account of Scotland. " Perhaps the greateſt " barrier againſt houſehold induſtry and manufacture among " us, is *the ſcarcity of fuel* in many parts of the country. A " human being, pinched with cold, when confined within " doors, is always an *inactive* being. The day-light during " winter, is ſpent by many of the women and children in " gathering *elding*, as they call it; that is, ſticks, furze, or " broom, for fuel; and the evening in warming their ſhivering " limbs before the ſcanty fire it produces. Could *our legiſlators* " be conducted through this pariſh, (Kirkenner, in the county " of Wigton,) in the winter months, could *the lords and* " *commons*, during the Chriſtmas receſs, viſit the cottages of

* Guthrie's Geographical Grammar. ART. ISLANDS OF SCOTLAND.
† Ibid. ART. SCOTLAND. ‡ Ibid.
‖ Appendix to Dr. Anderſon's account of the Hebrides. p. 330.

" the poor through theſe parts of the *united* kingdoms, where " nature hath refuſed coal, and *their* laws have *more than* " *doubled the price of it*, this would be Shakeſpeare's *whole-* " *ſome phyſic*, and would, more than any thing elſe, quicken " their invention to find ways and means for ſupplying the " place of *the worſt of laws*."‡ Such legiſlators ought to be ſent to Bridewell *during the receſs*, and to remain there, fed on bread and water, and without fire or candle, to the end of the ſeſſion. Dr. Smith, in his Theory of Moral Sentiments, remarks, that *the great never conſider their inferiors as their fellow creatures*. The Britiſh land-holders illuſtrate, on all occaſions, the veracity of this maxim. In England, this tax on coals, when tranſported by ſea, has been very hurtful. " One " would think," ſays Lord Kaims, " that it was intended to

‡ Statiſtical Account, vol. iv. p. 147.

The work ſwarms with complaints on this head. This ſimple paſtor appears to know but little of Britiſh lords and commons, when he appeals to their ſenſibility. Take notice to what follows:

" A late ball given by Lord Courtney, coſt ſix thouſand guineas. He had, among " other rarities, a thouſand peaches at a guinea each, a thouſand pottles of cherries at " five ſhillings each, a thouſand pottles of ſtrawberries at five ſhillings each, and " every other article in the ſame proportion." London Newſpapers, 5th May, 1792. —Another newſpaper, ſometime ago, had this article.

" To ſuch a degree of perfection are dog-kennels now brought, that one lately " built by Sir William Rowley, at his ſeat in Suffolk, covers four acres of ground. " Among other *accomodations for his hounds*, he has erected a warm bath, through " which each dog is regularly purified, after each day's chaſe."

Mendoza, the bruiſer, ſome time ago refuſed to ſettle the terms of a boxing-match, until he had conſulted his *intimate friend*, the Duke of Hamilton. A letter from him to this effect, appeared in the public prints. His grace, not long after, invited *his friend* to a viſit at the palace of Hamilton. One day, after dinner, the Duke introduced to his company the ſubject of boxing. He extolled the talents of the Jew, and requeſted leave to bring him in, that the gentlemen preſent might ſee the proficiency of his grace in *ſparring*. Accordingly, the parties ſtript, a ring was formed, and the combat began. The Duke did not ſtrike fair, of which he was repeatedly warned by his friend. The man was at laſt ſo exaſperated by his grace perſiſting in foul play, that he gave him a ſtroke in earneſt, which ſent the Duke of Hamilton ſtaggering to the other end of the room. His grace was carried to bed, and the company diſperſed. Mendoza was lately in a Dublin tap-room. His name was diſcovered, and he was directly ordered to quit the Houſe. So different are the citizens of Dublin from this Scots Duke, in *their choice of company*.

The Prince of Wales brought to Newmarket, ſome time ago, a race-horſe of high reputation. Betts were laid in his favour, but when he came upon the turf, he fell far behind. He was matched to run a ſecond time next day, and betts were laid with a very great odds againſt him. His royal maſter *accepted the odds*, and betted to a very large amount in favour of his horſe. The whole aſſemblage of black-legs conſidered the Prince as completely *taken in*. But he very ſoon convinced them that he was more than a match for the whole gang, at their own weapons. On this ſecond day, his horſe reſumed his former ſuperiority, and won the race with eaſe. It was ſaid, that the Duke of Bedford alone, loſt, by this maſterly ſtroke of jockeyſhip, twelve thouſand pounds ſterling. The newſpapers eſtimated *the total balance* in favour of the Prince, from fifty to an hundred thouſand pounds. Such was the triumph of

Our eldeſt hope, divine Iulus,
Late, very late, O may he rule us!

His groom was examined, and, as a ſwindler, forever exiled from the turf. The ſalary of fifty thouſand pounds a-year, paid to this hopeful prince, commenced about the 1ſt of January, 1781.

" check population.—One may, at the firſt glance, diſtinguiſh " the coal counties from the reſt of England, by the induſtry " of the inhabitants, and by plenty of manufacturing towns " and villages."*

In the year ending on the fifth of January, 1789, the ſalt duties for Scotland, produced in whole £18043 0 1 1-4
Salaries, incidents, bounties and drawbacks, 8749 9 11 3-4

Net produce of the ſalt tax - - 9293 10 1-1-2†

Dr. Anderſon has juſt now publiſhed a ſtate of the bounties paid annually by government, upon the Scots fiſheries, and of the premiums, upon the exportation of Scots herrings.‡ They amount, in round numbers, to *twenty-two thouſand* pounds *per annum*. A ſociety in Scotland for encouraging the fiſhery, give about *two thouſand* pounds. The Scots board of cuſtoms expend about ten thouſand pounds annually for cruizers to prevent ſmuggling; of which ſum, the Doctor ſtates one half, or *five thouſand* pounds, to the accompt of ſalt duties. Thus, the bounties, premiums, and cruizers coſt all together, twenty-nine thouſand pounds a year.|| The net revenue of ſalt for the whole kingdom is about nine thouſand pounds. Thus twenty thouſand pounds are ſunk. If parliament would only aboliſh the tax, and order the Dutch and other foreigners to ſtay at home, an hundred thouſand mariners, and a million of ſubjects might ſoon be added to the population of Britain.

We have ſeen the miſerable effects of the coal tax. The Scots duties upon ſalt and coals together produce hardly a net eighteen thouſand pounds a year to the exchequer.†† At the ſame time, the Scots mint, where not even a copper farthing has been coined for eighty-five years, coſts the public annually - - - - - £1000
The keeper of the great ſeal - - - 3000
The keeper of the privy ſeal - - - 3000
The lord juſtice general - - - 2000
The lord regiſter - - - - 1200
The commander in chief of the forces in North-Britain 1460
The vice-admiral - - - - 1000

Carried forward - - - 12660

* Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man. vol. 1. p. 486. Quarto edition.

† Hiſtory of the Public Revenue, part III. chap. 6.

‡ This premium, as above ſtated, is two ſhillings and eight-pence *per* barrel. Dr. Anderſon has blended under one of theſe articles, " herrings and *hard fiſh* exported " from England, two thouſand pounds." Hard fiſh had no buſineſs in a ſtatement about herrings; and ſome deduction from the ſum total, ſhould be made on accoun of them.

|| The Bee, vol. xi. p. 26.

†† Hiſtory of the Public Revenue. part III. chap. 6

Brought forward - - -	12660
The knight mariſchal - - -	400
The ſignet-office is a *direct* tax upon the public, and it now nets to the keeper, Mr. Dundas -	3000
The ſaſine-office, the fees of which are a ſecond direct tax, nets to its keeper about two thouſand pounds, beſides a ſalary from government, of two hundred more - - - -	2200
	18,260

Every one of theſe places is an abſolute ſinecure, the duties of which are not diſcharged by the perſons who receive the money. Some of them have nothing to do, but in every one of them, where buſineſs is really tranſacted, the deputies are paid over and above, and ſometimes very extravagantly, at *the additional expence of the public*. The total charge to the nation, for theſe ten bubbles, extends, as above ſpecified, to eighteen thouſand, two hundred and ſixty pounds ſterling *per annum*. Thus hath one part of us been loaded with the plunder of the reſt. Thus are ſix or eight hundred thouſand Scots people kept in a ſtate of comparative beggary, by the payment of ſalt and coal duties, while ſix or eight ſolitary penſioners riot on the robbery of the poor.

" A *half-ſtarved* Highland woman frequently bears more " than twenty children, while a pampered fine lady is often " incapable of bearing any.—But *poverty*, though it does not " prevent the generation, is extremely unfavourable to the " rearing of children. It is not uncommon, I have been fre- " quently told, in the Highlands of Scotland, for a mother " who has born twenty children, not to have *two* alive."* The ſum of this paſſage is, that multitudes of the children of Scots Highlanders periſh of hunger, and of the numerous diſtempers that follow in its train. The monopoly of land, the infancy of agriculture, the non-entity of manufactures, with the accurſed ſalt exciſe, and coal duty, form the fountain-head from whence theſe waters of bitterneſs flow.

* Smith's Inquiry, book I. chap. 8th.

CHAP. III.

Reports of the commiſſioners of public accounts —Crown lands —Aſtoniſhing corn law —Britiſh famine in the reign of William Third—Striking picture of Scotch wretchedneſs at that period —What Scotland might have been —War in general —Culloden —The bloody Duke.

THE practice of granting enormous penſions, has been carried infinitely farther in England, than on the north of Tweed. The ſoil is richer, and the weeds of corruption grow ranker. As the ſubject is but imperfectly underſtood, it may be worth while to compare the Brobdignag peculators of London with the Lilliputians of the ſame kind in this country. For this end, we may conſult a curious and authentic aſſemblage of evidence publiſhed by parliament. During the war with America, they appointed commiſſioners to examine the ſtate of public accounts. The office was performed with fidelity, and the reports publiſhed. In the ſixth report, we learn, that the auditor of the exchequer received, in the year 1780,

from his place, a clear profit of -	£14,016	4	1
His firſt clerk - - - - - -	2,752	3	6
The clerk of the pells - - - -	7,597	12	0 1-2
The four tellers of the exchequer -	29,267	4	4 1-2
The uſher of the exchequer - -	4,200		
Total to eight perſons,	£57,833	4	0

The commiſſioners recommend the abolition of this laſt office. They obſerve, that " the chief, if not the only preſent " duty of the uſher, is to ſupply the treaſury and exchequer " with ſtationary and turnery ware, and a variety of other ar- " ticles, and the exchequer with coals, and to provide work- " men for certain repairs." In 1780, he provided articles and repairs to the amount of fourteen thouſand, four hundred and forty pounds, three ſhillings and ſix-pence. On the articles, he was entitled to the very moderate commiſſion of forty *per cent*; ſo that the poſt muſt, from the firſt hour of its exiſtence, have been deſigned as a job. The net profits were, as above ſtated, four thouſand guineas. The exact ſum pocketed by the officers and clerks of exchequer, in 1780, clear of all deductions, was ſeventy-five thouſand, eight hundred and ſixty-three pounds, nineteen ſhillings and three-pence, three farthings, ſterling. The report ſays, that in this year, the *ineffective* officers of the exchequer, received *forty-five thouſand, three hundred and thirty-two pounds.* This account is too ſa-

vourable. We have juſt ſeen, that fifty-ſeven thouſand, eight hundred and thirty-three pounds, four ſhillings, were divided among eight perſons. Of theſe, the only man of buſineſs is the firſt clerk to the auditor, and even he has a ſalary ten times as large as any merchant would pay to a mere accomptant. The exchequer contains ſeveral other clerks with conſiderable incomes. The four firſt clerks to the four tellers, received among them, in 1780, five thouſand, two hundred and forty-one pounds, and eight-pence three farthings. From this general ſurvey, it may be ſuſpected, that the whole duties of the exchequer might be performed for a tenth part of the wages now paid; as even, by the preſent glimmering, we diſtinctly perceive, that four-fifths of the above ſeventy-five thouſand pounds are abſorbed in ſinecures. In time of peace, the perquiſites would be ſomewhat leſs, but the labour would be leſs in proportion. Fifteen active clerks, at five hundred pounds ſterling each, could find, at their own charges, the requiſite aſſiſtants, and actually perform the buſineſs. This ſimple alteration would, in 1780, have ſaved to the public, ſixty-eight thouſand, three hundred pounds. The largeneſs of *nominal* ſalaries, forms but the ſag-end of the ſtory. After ſtating various abuſes, the report goes on in theſe words:

"There ſtill remain to be *made up*, the accounts of *four* "treaſurers of the navy, to the amount of *fifty-eight millions*, "*nine hundred and forty-four thouſand, five hundred and* "*eighty-eight pounds*, and of three paymaſters general of the "forces, amounting to four millions, ſix hundred and ſixty-"ſix thouſand, eight hundred and ſeventy-five pounds, exclu-"ſive of the treaſurer and paymaſter-general in office; to the "firſt of whom has been iſſued, to the 30th of September, "1780, *ſixteen millions, ſeven hundred and eighty-one thouſand,* "*two hundred and ſeventeen pounds*, and to the latter, to the "end of the ſame year, *forty three millions, two hundred and* "*fifty-three thouſand, nine hundred and eleven pounds*, and "not one year's account of either is *completed*. So that, of "the money iſſued to the navy, *ſeventy-five millions, ſeven* "*hundred and twenty-five thouſand, eight hundred and five* "*pounds*, and of the money iſſued to the army, *forty-ſeven* "*millions, nine hundred and twenty thouſand, ſeven hundred* "*and eighty ſix pounds*; together, *one hundred and twenty-*"*three millions, ſix hundred and forty-ſix thouſand, five hun-*"*dred and ninety-one pounds*, (not including *ten millions, ſix* "*hundred and forty-ſeven thouſand, one hundred and eighty-*"*eight pounds*, iſſued to the navy, and *eight millions, one hun-*"*dred and twenty-one thouſand pounds*, to the army, to the "end of the laſt year,) is as yet UNACCOUNTED FOR." Theſe various ſums unaccounted for, amount, in the whole, to *one*

hundred and forty-two millions, four hundred and fourteen thouſand, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-nine pounds. This report is dated the 11th of February, 1782. Lord Holland, paymaſter-general of the forces, reſigned his office in 1765. He had received near *forty-ſix millions ſterling*. His final account was delivered into the auditor's office, ſeven years *after his reſignation*. Compare this with the proſecution *inſtantly* raiſed againſt a Scots fiſherman, for the penalty of a ſalt bond. The balance actually in the hand of his lordſhip, when he loſt his place, was *four hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds*. The fourth report ſays, that upon the 30th of September, 1780, *two hundred and fifty-ſix thouſand pounds* were ſtill due to the public by his repreſentatives, and on a computation of ſimple intereſt, at four *per cent. per annum*, that the loſs to the nation by the money left in his hands, was, then, *two hundred and forty-eight thouſand, three hundred and ninety-four pounds, thirteen ſhillings, ſterling*; as the public have no claim for the intereſt of money lodged with a paymaſter, even *after he is diſmiſſed**. Thus far the commiſſioners of public accounts. Now think of the proſecution of a ſhipwrecked mariner for the duty of ſix buſhels of bonded ſalt†. It was commonly ſaid that Mr. Richard Rigby, a late paymaſter of the forces, cleared annually, ſeventy thouſand pounds from his office, chiefly by keeping in his hands immenſe ſums of public money. What ſignify the minnows of Tyburn, contraſted with the leviathans of the exchequer, ſporting in an ocean of ſeventeen millions ſterling a year? On the waſte of public money, Edmund Burke ſpeaks as follows: "It is impoſſible for a man to "be an œconomiſt, under whom various officers, in their ſe"veral departments, may ſpend even juſt what they pleaſe, "and often with an emulation of expence, as contributing to "the importance, if not profit, of their ſeveral departments. "Thus much is certain, that neither the preſent, nor any "other firſt lord of the treaſury, has been ever able to take a "ſurvey, or *to make even a tolerable* GUESS of the expences of "government for any one year; ſo as to enable him, with the "leaſt degree of certainty, or even probability, to bring his "affairs within compaſs."‡ And again, "A ſyſtem of con"fuſion remains, which is not only alien but *adverſe* to all "œconomy; a ſyſtem, which is not only prodigal in its *very* "*eſſence*, but cauſes every thing elſe which belongs to it, to be "prodigally conducted."‖

* Theſe reports are inſerted in ſucceſſive volumes of the New Annual Regiſter. A farther analyſis of ſome of their contents will appear in the ſecond part of this work.

† Supra, chap. 1.

‡ Speech on œconomical reform. ‖ Ibid.

" In all the great monarchies of Europe, there are ſtill many " large tracts of land which belong to the crown. They are " generally foreſt; and ſometimes foreſt, where, after travel- " ling ſeveral miles, you will ſcarce find *a ſingle tree*; a mere " waſte and loſs of country in reſpect both of produce and po- " pulation. In every great monarchy of Europe, the ſale of " the crown lands would produce *a very large ſum of money*.— " The crown lands of Great Britain do not, at preſent, afford " *the fourth part* of the rent which could probably be drawn " from them, if they were the property of private perſons."* This would be a better way to raiſe money, than by taxing ſhopkeepers, pedlars, and ſervant maids. It has been computed that the crown lands of Britain could be raiſed in their value, by ſetting them on proper leaſes, or by ſelling them off entirely, to a rent of four hundred thouſand pounds a year, more than their preſent value; but it would be hazardous to warrant this vague eſtimation.

When ſo great a part of the revenues and reſources of a nation are thus miſerably caſt away, there muſt be ſomewhere in the ſame political body, a large proportion of diſtreſs. Accordingly, Dr. Davenant computes, that twelve hundred thouſand people in England *receive alms*.† Dr. Goldſmith, in his Hiſtory of Animated Nature, gives a calculation, that in London, two thouſand perſons die every year of *hunger*. Dr. Johnſon ſays, that in 1759, the jails of England contained twenty thouſand priſoners for debt.‡ He conjectures, that five thouſand of theſe debtors periſhed annually in priſon. Dr. Wendeborn ſtates, as a wonted computation, that London contains forty thouſand common proſtitutes. It ſhelters ſome thouſands of highwaymen, pick-pockets, and ſwindlers of all kinds, who gain a regular ſubſiſtence by the exerciſe of their talents. Theſe are the natural conſequence of crown lands lying waſte, and of an hundred and forty-two millions ſterling unaccounted for. In ſuch a condition, we give an hundred and eighty thouſand pounds ſterling, at a ſingle daſh, to pay the debts of a thoughtleſs young man. In Holland and Switzerland, beggars, and priſoners for debt, are much leſs numerous than in England, becauſe the Dutch and the Swiſs are more wiſe, more happy, and, to all rational purpoſes, more *free*, than the Britiſh nation. " There was not, when Mr. Howard viſited " Holland, more than one priſoner for debt in the great city " of Rotterdam."‖ If half the panegyrics pronounced by

* Inquiry into the nature and cauſes of the Wealth of Nations. Book v. chap. 2. Part I.

† Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man. Vol. I. p. 479.

‡ Idler, No. 38. The author adds, in a note, that ſince firſt writing, he had found reaſon to queſtion the calculation.

‖ Burke's ſpeech at Briſtol, on the 6th of September, 1780.

Britons upon themſelves are true, genius and virtue can very ſeldom be found beyond the limits of this bleſſed iſland. As to civil liberty, an Engliſh writer, on that ſubject, begins by ſuppoſing, that it is confined excluſively to the Britiſh dominions.

From theſe miſcellaneous remarks, we proceed to the corn law, lately paſſed. No part of our political ſyſtem has been an object of more clamorous applauſe than the bounty granted by parliament on the exportation of Britiſh grain. It is ſaid that this bounty was an encouragement eſſentially requiſite for the intereſt of the farmers, becauſe, without it, they would not venture to raiſe a ſufficient quantity of corn for home conſumption. By giving a bounty on exporting it, the farmers were always certain of a market; and it was ſuppoſed, that, but for the proſpect of this reſource, they would very often forbear to raiſe it. The profound policy of this expedient has been extolled by Lord Kaims, by Sir John Dalrymple, and by a crowd of other writers, whoſe very names would fill a ſheet of paper. Others conſider the bounty on exporting corn, as one of the moſt formidable engines of oppreſſion, that *the landed intereſt* has ever diſcharged on the rights of mankind. The more that the principles of Britiſh policy are examined, the more ſhall we, like Rocheſter, be convinced, that,

> " Dutch proweſs, Daniſh wit, and *Britiſh Policy*,
> " Great NOTHING! mainly tend to thee."

The empires of Japan and China are much better cultivated than the Britiſh Iſlands. They know nothing of any ſuch bounty. Ancient Egypt, and likewiſe Hindoſtan, before the Eaſt-India company had deſtroyed thirty-ſix millions of its inhabitants, were examples of the ſame kind. In theſe countries, and others that might be named, agriculture has advanced to high perfection; while, at the ſame time, the farmers of England muſt be bribed to the plough. There appears an abſurdity on the very face of this ſuppoſition; for it is as reaſonable to ſay, that the people of Britain cannot, like the Japaneſe, walk without crutches, as that their farmers will not, like thoſe of Japan, raiſe as much corn as they can, unleſs they are hired to it by the ſtate. Dr. Smith, in his Inquiry into the Wealth of Nations, hath combated this corn bounty. Poſtlethwaite alſo, in his dictionary, has a paſſage to the ſame purpoſe; and as the bulk of his book may have prevented ſome people from reading it quite through, we ſhall extract a few remarks on the corn laws.

" There is no complaint more common among our merchants, " than that foreigners underwork us in almoſt every kind of " manufacture; and can we be ſurpriſed at it? when the gene- " ral tendency of our laws, is to make labour dear *at home*,

" and cheap *abroad*; when we either forbid our people to " work, or oblige them to work in the moſt diſadvantageous " manner; when we lay all our taxes on trade, or, which is " ſtill worſe for trade, on the *neceſſaries of life*; and when we " contrive to feed the labourers, manufacturers, and ſeamen " of foreign countries, with our corn at a cheaper rate *than* " *our own people can have it!* To raiſe the price of corn at " home, in whatever manner it is done, is the ſame thing as " to lay a tax on the conſumption of it; and to do that in " ſuch a manner as leſſens the price of it abroad, is to apply " this tax to the benefit of foreigners."* The bounty paid by law on the exportation of corn, hath, by one account, amounted, in a ſingle year, to one hundred and fifty thouſand pounds.† By another account, " the bounty upon corn alone has ſome- " times coſt the public in one year, more than *three hundred* " *thouſand pounds*."‡

Weekly accounts of the average prices of corn, in different parts of Britain, are publiſhed by authority of parliament. Before we examine the law ſo lately paſt on this head, it is proper to look into theſe weekly reports. We ſhal thus learn upon what ſort of information the legiſlature went, and how far they were qualified, by a previous acquaintance with the ſtate of the corn trade, to make laws concerning it.

For the county of Northumberland, there were two returns of average prices of oat-meal, during the week which ended on the 28th of April, 1792. A boll weighs an hundred and forty pounds avoirdupois. At Hexham, in Northumberland, the price of a boll was ſaid to be twenty eight ſhillings and eight pence. At Berwick upon Tweed, in the ſame county, and at the diſtance of no more than ſixty miles, the average price, at the ſame time, was only *eleven ſhillings and nine-pence*. If theſe accounts of prices were accurate, it would have been an excellent trade to tranſport corn from Berwick to Hexham, where it would give more than double the ſame price. An hundred pounds employed in this way, muſt have returned a clear profit of an hundred and forty-four and two-ſevenths *per cent.* ſubtracting only the expence of carriage. The medium is ſtruck between theſe two rates, and twenty ſhillings and two-pence *per* boll, is returned as the average price of oat-meal, for the county of Northumberland. No body will believe, or pretend to believe, that both theſe reports are genuine. It is very likely that both are untrue. There is a conſtant intercourſe between Hexham and Berwick, and the ſeveral prices, in every part of the country, are invariably and univerſally known. To fancy

* Dictionary, vol 1. p. 560.
† Sketches of the Hiſtory of Man, vol. I. p. 492.
‡ Smith's Inquiry, book 4th. chap. 5th.

then ſuch a difference in the rate of corn, is like believing that the water collected behind a dam will keep at its former height, when the dam itſelf hath been removed. The phyſical abſurdity of the one ſuppoſition, is not greater than the moral abſurdity of the other. In the ſame week, a boll of oat-meal, at *Berwick*, in this very county of Northumberland, is ſtated, by the weekly report, at three pounds, two ſhillings and ſix-pence. Thus, by carrying oat-meal from the one Berwick to the other, a profit might have been gained of more than four hundred *per cent.* The following are the prices in the reports of the ſame week, for ſome other places. For Weſtmoreland, fourteen ſhillings and ſeven-pence; for Herefordſhire, fifty-five ſhillings and two-pence; in Lancaſter, fourteen ſhillings and eleven-pence; in Salop, fifty ſhillings and eleven-pence; in Cheſter, fifteen ſhillings and a penny; in Bedfordſhire, fifty ſhillings and ſeven-pence. Theſe reports, publiſhed by the perſons acting under parliament, are of equal authenticity with Robinſon Cruſoe. Yet, as we ſhall immediately perceive, the ſubſiſtence of millions of people may depend on the accuracy of theſe identical weekly reports.*

The new corn law commenced its operations, on the 15th of November, 1791. In every ſtage it had received an obſtinate oppoſition. On one clauſe, a committee of the houſe of commons were equally divided, ſixty-two on each ſide, and the vote of the chairman decided againſt it. The act, as now publiſhed, fills eighty-four folio pages of confuſion and repetition.† By the aſſiſtance of ſome gentlemen, I have been enabled to form an analyſis of a part of its contents.

The maritime country of England and Wales, is by this law, divided into twelve diſtricts; and all Scotland into four. To ſimplify the diſcuſſion as much as poſſible, let us confine ourſelves at preſent, to the firſt of the four diſtricts of Scotland. It comprehends the counties of Fife, Kinroſs, Clackmannan, Stirling, Linlithgow, Edinburgh, Hadington, Berwick, Roxburgh, Selkirk, and Peebles. Suppoſing that a ſcarcity of proviſions ſhould prevail in the ſhire of Edinburgh, wheat, for inſtance cannot be imported into it from any other diſtrict of Britain, till the average prices of wheat have been aſcertained over the eleven counties with which it forms a diſtrict. It muſt be proved, to the ſatisfaction of the ſheriff depute of the county, that the average price of wheat is fifty ſhillings per quarter; for, if it is imported, when the price is lower than that ſum, there is a duty on the importation, of twenty-four ſhillings and three-

* Theſe particulars of the weekly reports were firſt publiſhed by Dr. Anderſon, in the Bee, vol. IX. p. 96.

† The remark of Lord Thurlow, above quoted, was perfectly juſt. Many an act of parliament, would, as a compoſition, *diſgrace ſchool-boys.*

pence, which is equivalent to a prohibition. But though the public ſhould really be ſtarving, and wheat extravagantly dear, the real price of it can *only* be aſcertained to the ſheriff depute, by theſe weekly returns above ſtated. This is the expreſs injunction of the ſtatute, and theſe identical returns are of as much actual authority as the croaking of a parrot.

Now it muſt be obſerved, that in this firſt Scottiſh diſtrict, fertile and barren counties are injudiciouſly claſſed together. Of the eleven above-mentioned, only Fife, Edinburgh and Hadington produce in general good grain. That of the other eight counties is often at the rate of ten or twelve ſhillings *per* boll, when the grain of Fife, or Edinburgh, ſells at eighteen ſhillings. Put the caſe then, that the wheat of Edinburgh has riſen to fifty ſhillings, and an importation is wanted from a foreign country. "No," ſays the ſheriff depute of the county. "The grand broker of Weſtminſter elections, viz. *the heaven-*
"*born miniſter*, the jockey peers of Newmarket, with proxies
"in their pockets, and the *pocket-liſt* repreſentatives of St.
"Mawes and Old Sarum, have ordered things better. They
"have debated and ſcolded among themſelves, upon this ſub-
"ject, for three months. By two majorities of ten or fifteen
"votes out of *eight hundred*, they have produced a *permanent*
"corn act, an act of which they boaſt, as the maſter-piece of
"legiſlation. *Seven entire ſtatutes* have been repealed to make
"room for it. This laconic law has three or four hundred
"clauſes, which Oedipus could not have explained, and Simo-
"nides could not have remembered. By one of theſe articles,
"you are not to import wheat, though you may be ſtarving
"for want of it, till the wheat of Peebles and Clackmannan,
"has mounted from its preſent rate of thirty ſhillings *per* quar-
"ter, up to forty. By that time, your own muſt have riſen to
"*ſixty*. We ſhall then ſtrike the medium, and ſuffer you to im-
"port it for a duty of half a crown *per* quarter. You need
"not grumble. The people of Orkney and Shetland are infi-
"nitely worſe off. Among them, an ear of corn is an object
"of aſtoniſhment; and it is as much inferior in quality to that
"of Peebles, as the latter is inferior to yours. You are per-
"mited to import oats when yours riſe to ſeventeen ſhillings
"*per* quarter, for a duty of only one ſhilling, which goes to
"make up the half guinea *per* day to Weſtminſter bludgeon-
"men, and the four thouſand guineas per annum to the uſher
"of the exchequer. But when the oats of Orkney, are *nomi-*
"*nally* at ſeventeen ſhillings, they are in reality dearer than
"yours, when at twenty-five or thirty ſhillings. In a word, you
"are graciouſly permitted to eat bread, perhaps a third part
"cheaper, than thoſe beggarly iſlanders. Mark the ſuperior fe-
"licity of your ſituation; and let your hearts glow with

" gratitude to the beſt of princes." The admiring citizens hear their magiſtrate with ſilent rapture, and bleſs their ſtars that they were born under the Britiſh conſtitution. N. B. His Lordſhip, notwithſtanding his conſtitutional good nature, had juſt then endured five or ſix of them to be ſhot, in honour of his majeſty's birth-day.*—The fallacy of the corn returns has already been mentioned, and we perceive what infinite miſchief they may poſſibly commit. The wheat in the county of Edinburgh may be returned at twenty-five ſhillings per quarter, when the real price is fifty or ſixty, and thus importation may be prevented.

There is another circumſtance in this law that deſerves attention. The wheat, oats, and barley of England are, in quality, far ſuperior to ours. This is well known to every baker and brewer. At this moment, Edinburgh brewers are buying Engliſh barley at eight ſhillings *per* boll higher than is given for barley of Scots produce, taking the prices of the different counties at a medium. The former is of ſuperior value, by the proportion of fifteen or eighteen to ten.

In Kent, Norfolk, and the other counties of England, ſubject to this law, the wheat is twenty-five *per cent.* better than that of Scotland. To make the ſtatute equitable, therefore, the people of North-Britain ought to have imported wheat, when it was at forty ſhillings per quarter, while England ſhould not have been allowed an importation, till Engliſh wheat had riſen to *fifty* ſhillings. " This is what a wiſe and virtuous miniſtry would " have done and ſaid. This, therefore, is what our miniſters " could never think of ſaying or doing."† Engliſh grain, of all kinds, ought to have been rated, for the licence of importation, at twenty or twenty-five *per cent.* higher than Scots grain. The plain meaning of the law is, that the people of Scotland muſt eat their bread dearer by twenty-five *per cent.* than Engliſhmen eat theirs. That is the true intent and meaning of this corn law. Every dealer in grain will tell you, on a minute's warning, that he does not underſtand this ſtatute; and that he never heard of any body, who could ſafely undertake to decypher theſe eighty-four folio pages, about the terms upon which we are to be permitted *to buy our bread.* When the corn merchants of Leith found part of the law totally beyond their comprehenſion, they applied to the cuſtom-houſe officers, who frankly declared that they were not able to explain it. In this way a *heaven-born* miniſter manages the buſineſs of a *free* nation.

If a Swiſs, or a North-American, were to read this account, he would certainly conclude that Britain is inhabited only by two

* In Charles-ſtreet, George's-ſquare. They had been burning an effigy of ſtraw.

† Burke's ſpeech on the creditors of the Nabob of Arcot.

kinds of people, ſlaves and mad-men. Dr. Anderſon gives a juſt idea of this ſtatute of deſolation. "By the late corn act, it is in "the power of any cuſtom-houſe officer ſtationed there, (in the "Highlands or Hebrides,) to ſtarve nearly half a million of peo- "ple for want of food, almoſt *when he pleaſes.*" * It would require an uncommon degree of penetration, to determine whether the authors of this act are fitteſt for bedlam or the Old-Bailey. If the moſt inveterate enemies to human happineſs, had conſulted for ages together, they could not have deviſed a more deciſive method, than by this bill, for reducing the labouring part of the Scots nation to the laſt extremity of poverty and wretchedneſs.

With regard to the probable conſequences of this corn law, hereafter, we may judge of the future by the paſt. "During "ſome years previous to the peace of Ryſwick, (which was con- "cluded in 1697,) the price of corn in England was *double*, and "in Scotland *quadruple* its ordinary rate; and in one of theſe "years, it was believed, that in Scotland *eighty thouſand people* "*died of want.*" † A tenth part of the expence of one of the Britiſh campaigns in Flanders, would have averted from this iſland ſo dreadful a calamity. In Aberdeenſhire, the conſequences of this famine may ſtill be traced. Whole families expired together, and the boundaries of deſerted farms were forgotten. To aſcertain them is, at this day, ſometimes an object of diſpute. The land bears the marks of the plough; but, having been ſo long neglected, has relapſed into its original ſtate of barrenneſs; and is now covered with heath, among which may be diſcovered the remains of the dwelling-houſes of the exterminated inhabitants. Theſe extraordinary circumſtances have not been obſerved by any former writer. They were related to me by Dr. Anderſon, who has an eſtate in the county of Aberdeen. We may be perſuaded, that in the other years of this famine, at leaſt twenty thouſand additional perſons periſhed of hunger; ſo that this reckoning of extirpation amounts altogether to one hundred thouſand lives.

The bleſſings that poured upon this country in conſequence of the Dutch revolution, afford inceſſant exultation in the pages of our hiſtorians. The war of 1689, "which *grew out of the re-* "*volution*," ‡ may be termed the firſt inſtalment of the price of that event. The remedy was like breaking a jaw-bone to remove the tooth-ach. Some authors mention this war with as much tranquility, as if it had begun and ended by the ſhooting of a crow. Notice how George Chalmers, eſquire, walks on velvet over this ſubject. "The inſult offered to the ſovereignty

* Bee, vol. xi. p. 34.
† Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, part iii. book 5.
‡ Eſtimate, &c. by mr. Chalmers, p. 107.

" of England, by *giving an aſylum* to an abdicated monarch, and " by diſputing the right of a high-minded nation *to regulate its* " *own affairs*, forced king William into an eight-years war with " France. Preſſed thus by *neceſſity*, he could not weigh in very " ſcrupulous ſcales the wealth of his ſubjects, againſt the ſu- " perior opulence of his too-potent rival. Yet animated by his " characteriſtic magnanimity, *ſo worthy of imitation*, and ſup- " ported by the zeal of a people, whoſe reſources were not " then equal to their ardour and bravery, he engaged in an ar- " duous diſpute, for the moſt honourable end; the vindication " of the *independence* of a great kingdom."*

On the common principles of hoſpitality, the king of France could not have been juſtified in refuſing a refuge to the exiled king of England. Mr. Chalmers will not ſay that Lewis ſhould have delivered up James to William, who was very far from deſiring ſo dangerous a captive. But it was wrong, perhaps, to afford him an aſylum? James muſt have retired ſomewhere, and, on the ſame principles, the Engliſh nation might have ſucceſſively declared war againſt Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Turkey, and every other government in the world, where he might be permitted to reſide. It would have been much better for the people of England to behead James at once, than thus meanly to hunt him around Europe. Britain was not, at that time, in a ſituation to ſupport a war of eight years againſt France. The preceding account of the famine, proves that ſhe was not; and that the conduct of William, in commencing this quarrel, was moſt *unworthy of imitation*. As Mr. Chalmers hath ſpoke of a *high-minded* nation, and the neceſſity of vindicating its *independence*, which, by the way, the king of France never attempted to diſpute, we may peruſe the following account of the condition to which Scotland had been reduced at the termination of this conteſt.

"The firſt thing which I humbly and earneſtly propoſe to that " honourable court, (of parliament) is, that they would take " into their conſideration, the condition of ſo many thouſands of " our people, who are, at this day, *dying for want of bread*. And " to perſuade them, ſeriouſly to apply themſelves to ſo indiſpen- " ſible a duty, they have all the inducements which thoſe moſt " powerful emotions of the ſoul, terror and compaſſion, can " produce. Becauſe, from unwholeſome food, diſeaſes are ſo " multiplied among the poor people, that if ſome courſe be not " taken, this famine may very probably be followed by a plague; " and then, what man is there, even of thoſe who ſit in parlia- " ment, that can be ſure he ſhall eſcape? And what man is " there in this nation, if he have any compaſſion, who muſt not

* Eſtimate, &c. p. 1.

" grudge himſelf every nice bit, and every delicate morſel he " puts in his mouth, when he conſiders that ſo many are alrea- " dy *dead*, and ſo many at that minute *ſtruggling with death*, not " for want of bread, but of *grains*, which I am credibly inform- " ed, have been eaten by ſome families, even during the preced- " ing years of ſcarcity." In another part of this eſſay, the writer informs us, that " there are, at this day, in Scotland, (beſides " a great many poor families, very meanly provided for by the " church boxes, with others, who, by living upon bad food, " fall into various diſeaſes,) *two hundred thouſand people* begging " from door to door." In a preceding diſcourſe, the writer ſays, that there had been " a three-years ſcarcity;" ſo that in the whole, this great calamity muſt have continued for at leaſt four years, and, perhaps, for a longer time. In 1695, juſt as the famine was about its commencement, Mr. Paterſon propoſed to the people of Scotland, his ſcheme for founding a colony on the iſthmus of Darien. " Almoſt in an inſtant, four hundred thou- " ſand pounds were ſubſcribed in Scotland, although it be now " known, that there was not, at that time, above eight hundred " thouſand pounds of caſh in the kingdom."† Various obſtacles prevented the firſt colony from ſailing from Leith to the Weſt-Indies, till the 26th of July, 1698. The Scots ſquandered about five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling on this ſcheme, while thouſands of their countrymen were dying at home of hunger, and while two hundred thouſand others were begging from door to door. This was like a perſon without a ſhirt to his back, pretending to bid for a coach and ſix. A ſwarm of authors agree in lamenting the deſtruction of the Scots colony. They ſhould likewiſe have lamented the folly of our grandfathers in attempting to found it. Mr. Chalmers may admire, as much as he pleaſes, the *magnanimity* of William, and *a high-minded* nation. Scotland, with two hundred thouſand beggars ſhivering in her boſom, had very little temptation to interfere in Dutch or Engliſh quarrels. Indeed, this notion of forcing all your neighbours to admit your title to a crown, is a refinement of modern policy. Caſſibellanus gave himſelf no concern whether Boduognatus, or Vercingentorix, acknowledged his claim to the throne of the Trinobantes.

Much noiſe has been made about the maſſacre of Glenco, and the tragedy of Darien. This famine was a diſaſter infinitely more terrible than theſe, yet it has been recorded with far leſs clamorous lamentation. By the greater part of the hiſtorians of that period, no notice whatever has been beſtowed upon it. Yet, if William the third, his miniſters, and his parliaments, had been penetrable to human feelings, they would have put an end to

* Second diſcourſe on the affairs of Scotland, by Mr. Fletcher of Saltoun, written in 1698.

† Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, part III. book 6th.

the war, for the ſake of putting an end to the famine. They might have done ſo on the moſt honourable terms. Had William accepted the offers of Louis, "the war of the firſt grand "alliance would have ended *four years ſooner than it did*, and the "war of the ſecond grand alliance might *have been prevented*."* If any circumſtance can add to the folly and the guilt of William, it is this. He was almoſt conſtantly beaten by Louis in the field; and by the peace itſelf, none of the parties gained one penny of money, or almoſt one foot of territory. Yet Sir John Dalrymple, that candid and intelligent hiſtorian, has compoſed a panegyric on the wiſdom and virtues of this monarch. A thouſand other Britiſh writers have performed the ſame taſk; and the voice of the public hath conſtantly ſwelled the general chorus of admiration. This is a kind of infatuation and ſtupidity, that ſeems peculiar to the Britiſh nation. The French never celebrate the memory of Louis the eleventh, nor did the Roman hiſtorians affect to regret the ſuffocation of Tiberius Cæſar.

It is remarkable, that though the Scots are perpetually talking of their conſtitution, and their liberties, the whole fabric is entirely founded on one of the groſſeſt and moſt indecent acts of uſurpation ever known. I refer to the celebrated *Union*. The whole negociation bears, on its very face, the ſtamp of iniquity. The utmoſt care was employed to conceal its infant progreſs from the Scottiſh nation, and the bargain was at laſt patched up with precipitation by the Scottiſh parliament. A ſketch of undiſputed facts will explain this aſſertion. The commiſſioners for framing the articles were nominated by the queen. Thus two nations reſigned a moſt important function to this harmleſs but inſignificant woman, who, though deſtined to a throne, was ſcarcely fit for any thing elſe. On the 22d of July, 1706, the articles of union were ſigned at London, between the commiſſioners of the two kingdoms. A reſpect for the country required them to be printed, and diſtributed, that the people at large, who were to ſupport the conſequences of this bargin, might, before its ratification, have time to conſider of it. A *ſealed* copy of the treaty of union was delivered to the Lord Chancellor of Scotland, and its contents were kept ſecret, until the 3d of October following, when the Scots parliament aſſembled at Edinburgh. The articles were then laid before them; and violent debates enſued. If the nation had been capable of acting with unanimity, and firmneſs, proportioned to their feelings, they would immediately have ſummoned a convention, elected by the people. They would have declared, that the parliament, by granting leave to the queen, to name commiſſioners for Scotland, had betrayed the intereſt of their country; and as a tranſaction,

* Memoirs of Great-Britain and Ireland, part III. book 10.

founded on fraud, is in itſelf unlawful and void, they would, if they choſe to negociate at all, have begun by throwing aſide theſe articles. Inſtead of this regular and deciſive oppoſition, the country was filled with tumults, and on the brink of inſurrection. At Dumfries, a body of armed men burned the articles publicly at the market croſs. The Duke of Athol, at the head of his clan, undertook to ſecure the paſs of Stirling, ſo as to open the communication between the weſtern and northern highlands. At Edinburgh, the parliament, while deliberating on the treaty, found it requiſite to ſurround themſelves with an armed force. This aſſembly was rent into three different parties; and the agents of the crown began, at length, to deſpair of obtaining a majority. "The ſum of *twenty thouſand pounds*, which the queen "privately *lent* to the Scottiſh treaſury,"* contributed to purchaſe a ſuperiority of votes. Thus the matter went through, and the independence of the Scots nation was bought and ſold, with and for its own money. The union was agreed to, "partly," ſays Mr. Guthrie, "from conviction, and partly through the force "of money, diſtributed among *the needy nobility*."† When the ſubject was introduced into the Engliſh houſe of commons, Sir John Packington obſerved, that this was an union carried on by corruption and bribery within doors, and by force and violence without; that the promoters of it had *baſely betrayed their truſt*, in giving up their independent conſtitution; and he left it to the judgment of the houſe to conſider, whether or not men of ſuch principles were fit to be admitted into an Engliſh houſe of commons. It is plain, that the treaty was, in itſelf, altogether illegal. It exactly reſembles the ſale of an eſtate, without the conſent or knowledge of its owner. The Scotch members of parliament had been authoriſed, by their conſtituents, to aſſemble for the common buſineſs of the nation; inſtead of which, they clandeſtinely transferred its independence to the beſt bidder. Edmund Burke, in the ſpeech lately quoted, has a paſſage that exactly defines it. "A corrupt, private intereſt," ſays he, "is ſet up, in direct oppoſition to the neceſſities of the nation. "A diverſion is made of millions of the public money from the "public treaſury to a private purſe." If the parliament of Scotland had a right of transferring its independence to England, we muſt admit, that the Britiſh parliament is equally warranted to form an union with the national aſſembly of France, in ſpite of the remonſtrances of the people of Britain, and without letting them know the terms of the bargain; and then the two countries may be repreſented at Paris by forty-five deputies, or, indeed, by one only; for the doctrine of the Scotch ſaleſmen

* Smollet's Hiſtory of Queen Anne.
† Geographical Grammar, Article SCOTLAND.

amounts to that. If they were warranted in reducing the representatives of the people to forty-five, they had the ſame right of reducing them to any leſſer number, or, indeed, to caſt them aſide entirely. If the parliament of Scotland was entitled to annihilate itſelf, it had, by the ſame rule, a power of aboliſhing every other part of the government. It could have declared monarchy uſeleſs, or, like the commons of Denmark, it could at once have reſigned the liberties of Scotland to the crown. On the ſame doctrine, an American congreſs would be juſtified for *uniting* that continent with Britain; and we may conceive what their fellow-citizens would think and act on the diſcovery of ſuch a conjunction. A detail of the obliquities of this union, would extend the preſent chapter beyond its proper limits. A full account of it will be given in the courſe of this work, when a regular hiſtorical narrative commences, beginning with the year 1688, and ending at the preſent ſplendid æra. Without regard to perſons, to parties, or to public opinions, I ſhall there, as every where elſe, hold up truth to the world, as ſhe riſes on my reſearches, in the naked ſimplicity of her charms.

After ſuch a review, curioſity may lead us to enquire, if the Scots government had been honeſtly conducted, for the laſt hundred years, what, by this time, *Scotland itſelf might have been*? In order to take a proper view of this ſubject, we muſt begin by recollecting, that of one hundred years next after the revolution, Britain ſpent forty-two in actual war with other nations of Europe, over and above the campaigns in America, and the quarrels of the Eaſt-India company. The following table exhibits, with tolerable accuracy, the detail of theſe forty-two years.

Peace.		War.
4 years 8 months	1689. May. – 1697. Sept.	8 years 4 months
6 ditto 4 ditto	1702. May. – 1712. Auguſt.	10 ditto 3 ditto
5 ditto 8 ditto	1718. Dec. – 1721. June.	2 ditto 6 ditto
12 ditto 4 ditto	1727. March. – 1727. May.	0 ditto 2 ditto
7 ditto 0 ditto	1739. Octo. – 1748. May.	8 ditto 7 ditto
15 ditto 7 ditto	1755. June. – 1762. Nov.	7 ditto 5 ditto
6 ditto 2 ditto	1778. June. – 1783. March. – 1789. May.	4 ditto 9 ditto
57 years 9 months.		42 years.

Frequent armaments have beſides taken place, which, though they did not end in bloodſhed, were ſtill very expenſive to the

public, and very diſtreſſing to commerce. Britain has been either fighting, or preparing herſelf to fight, for ſixty-five or ſeventy years out of one hundred. The minds of the people have been kept in a ſtate of inceſſant fermentation. Their property has been the perpetual ſport of ruinous taxes. We never have enjoyed peace for ſo long a time together, as was requiſite for learning its full advantages. Britain reſembles a common bully, who ſpends five or ſix days of the week on a boxing ſtage, and the reſt of it, in an excife court or a correction houſe. In ſpite of all this folly, the wealth of the country has been continually increaſing. "From the reſtoration to the revolution, the foreign "trade of England had *doubled* in its amount; from the peace "of Ryſwick to the demiſe of king William, it had nearly riſen "*in the ſame proportion*. During the firſt thirty years of the cur-"rent century, it had again *doubled*" (although three wars, fifteen campaigns, by land or ſea, a Scottiſh rebellion, and ſix naval armaments for the Baltic, had intervened). "From the year "1750 to 1774, notwithſtanding the interruption of *an eight-"years intervenient war*," (viz. from 1756 to 1763,) "it ap-"pears to have gained more than *one-fourth*, whether we deter-"mine from the table of tonnage or the value of exports."* We can hardly conceive how very greatly Britiſh commerce muſt have augmented by this time, if it had not been retarded by theſe abſurd quarrels. As to the taxes, it has been already obſerved,† that every ſum of money raiſed from the public, coſts them ten *per cent*. "Never was ſo much falſe arithmetic employed, "on any one ſubject, as that which has been employed to per-"ſuade nations that it is their intereſt *to go to war*. Were the "money, which it has coſt, to gain, at the cloſe of a long war, "a little town, or a little territory, the right to cut wood here, "or to catch fiſh there, expended in improving what they al-"ready poſſeſs, in making roads, opening rivers, building ports, "improving the arts, and finding employment for the poor, it "would render them much ſtronger, much wealthier, and "happier. This, I hope, will be our wiſdom."‡ The greater part of the money ſpent in war, is employed in the purchaſe of proviſions and military ſtores, which are conſumed in the courſe of the quarrel, and large ſums are always tranſmitted in hard caſh out of this iſland. Thus a capital is transferred from the moſt uſeful and beneficent, to the moſt ſavage purpoſes. Inſtead of building farm-houſes, draining marſhes, and incloſing cornfields; inſtead of feeding the hungry and clothing the naked;

* An Eſtimate of the Comparative Strength of Britain, by George Chalmers, Eſq. p. 46.

† Vide Introduction.

‡ Notes on the ſtate of Virginia, by Mr. Jefferſon. Article *Public Revenue* and *Expences*.

inſtead of employing the idle, and animating the buſy, of ſupporting the induſtry, and embelliſhing the elegance of life, it is deſtined to bribe the brutality of a preſs-gang, or to pamper the rapacity of a contractor, to haſten the diſcharge of bombs, the exploſion of mines, and the ſtorming of batteries loaded with grape-ſhot. Transferences of this kind are infinitely numerous, and the concluſion ſeems evident War is a two-edged ſword, plunged through the heart of ſociety, and cutting both ways, equally to be avoided for the miſery which it produces, and the happineſs which it prevents. For example, Mr. Burke, ſome years ago, aſſerted in parliament, that ſix hundred thouſand pounds per annum were charged for the ſupport of the garriſon of Gibraltar, and eighty thouſand pounds for oats, furniſhed to the ſingle legion of colonel Tarleton. Twelve hundred thouſand pounds were charged for the annual proviſions only, of forty thouſand men, and fifty-ſeven thouſand pounds for preſents to the Indians, for which they had only maſſacred twenty-five women and children.

In ſeven years, from September, 1774, to September, 1780, incluſive, the number of men raiſed for the Britiſh army, was - - - - - - 76,885

Ditto for the navy - - 176,008

Total 252,893*

The American war laſted for more than two years after this eſtimate was made, ſo that the whole number of men raiſed, muſt have been at leaſt three hundred thouſand. Dr. Franklin, in a letter to Mr. Vaughan, ſays, that ſeven hundred Britiſh privateers, whoſe crews he calls *gangs of robbers*, were commiſſioned during this war. At an allowance of ſeventy-two men to each of them, the whole amount was fifty thouſand four hundred. A workman can, upon an average, earn about ten ſhillings a week, which, in London, is at preſent half the common wages of a journeyman taylor. Reduce this to twenty-five pounds *per annum*, and his life may be eſtimated at twelve years purchaſe, or three hundred pounds in value to the public. At this rate, the daily labour of the above three hundred and fifty thouſand men, extends to eight millions, ſeven hundred and fifty thouſand pounds *per annum*. If they had all periſhed in the war, the value of their lives would have amounted, at three hundred pounds *per* head, to one hundred and five millions ſterling. We are farther to obſerve, that previous to September, 1774, a very numerous body of men were engaged in the Britiſh army and navy, and thoſe perſons are not included in the preceding three hun-

* New Annual Regiſter for 1781. *Principal Occurrences.* p. 40.

dred and fifty thouſand. When a corps is raiſed, and ſent out of the Britiſh iſlands to actual ſervice, it ſeldom happens that more than a ſixth, a tenth, or a twentieth part of the men, ever come home again; and even of thoſe who do ſo, one half are frequently invalids and penſioners, or beggars. Dr. Johnſon, in his Tour through Scotland, relates, that in the war of 1756, an Highland regiment, conſiſting of twelve hundred men, was ſent to North-America, and that of theſe, only *ſeventy-ſix* returned. Dr. Franklin, in a ſhort eſſay on war, obſerves, that privateer men "are rarely fit for any ſober buſineſs after a peace, and "ſerve only to increaſe the number of highwaymen and houſe-"breakers." From theſe particulars, we may infer, that at leaſt three hundred thouſand perſons were loſt to the Britiſh nation, whoſe lives, in fee-ſimple, were worth ninety millions ſterling. Of this account, a fifth part may ſafely be ſtated as the ſhare of Scotland; ſo that the ſeven tea-duty campaigns, coſt an expence of Scots blood, to the value of eighteen millions ſterling. The war might have been avoided with the greateſt facility. In the hiſtorical regiſter of Edinburgh, for the month of December, 1791, there is a curious calculation, founded on the authority of Sir John Sinclair's ſtatiſtical reports. By this, it becomes very probable, that Scotland contains ninety-ſix thouſand females more than males. It is known, that the number of boys born exceeds that of girls; and hence this deficiency muſt be aſcribed to war and emigration. It has been ſtated above, that more than ſix hundred thouſand pounds of taxes raiſed from the Scots, are fairly carried into the Britiſh exchequer; and our abſentees at London, who ſpend the rent of their eſtates in that receptacle of profligacy, may be eſtimated at an additional three hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*. The total ſum raiſed in Scotland, during the year 1788, by government, was about one million and ninety-nine thouſand pounds. This includes a conjectural article of one hundred and thirty thouſand pounds as the duty paid upon goods manufactured in England, taxed there, and ſent down to Scotland for conſumption. Of the one million and ninety-nine thouſand pounds ſterling, about ſix hundred and thirty thouſand pounds went in that year into the Engliſh exchequer. The remaining four hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, if managed with œconomy, would have been much more than ſufficient for all the purpoſes of civil government, and the ſix hundred thouſand guineas might have been ſaved to the public. If the union had never exiſted, the three hundred thouſand pounds *per annum* for abſentees, would likewiſe have remained in Scotland. If we had enjoyed a wiſe, virtuous, and *independent* government, nine hundred thouſand pounds a year would have been retained in this poor, deſpiſed, and enſlaved country, which at preſent goes out of it. Shut up in a remote peninſula, where

nobody comes to moleſt us, we, Scotſmen, have no natural buſineſs with Falkland's iſlands, or Nootka Sound, with the wilds of Canada, or the ſuburbs of Oczakow. The farmers of Fife and Lanerk, are little concerned in the ſquabbles between Tipoo Saib, and a corporation of Engliſh merchants. Shepherds in Galloway ſpend their winter evenings without a fire, and weavers of Glaſgow go ſupperleſs to bed, for the ſake of a Dutch frontier, and the balance of uſurpation between German tyrants. For ſuch wiſe ends, we pay ſix hundred thouſand guineas a year. We are not ſuffered to fiſh cod upon our own coaſts, but we fight eight or ten years at a ſtretch for leave to catch it on the banks of Newfoundland. Since the revolution, Scotland has furniſhed the Britiſh army and navy with three or four hundred thouſand recruits, while, at the ſame time, England ſuffered eighty thouſand of our anceſtors to die, in a ſingle year, of hunger.

Theſe particulars may aſſiſt us in comprehending the deſtruction produced to North-Britain by the preſent ſyſtem of adminiſtration. Switzerland is reported, in round numbers, to contain twelve thouſand ſquare miles, and two millions of people. The ſoil is barren, and its ſurface encumbered with tremendous mountains, yet every acre of land is improved. The beauty of the country, and the felicity of its inhabitants, fill, with rapture, the pages of travellers. North-Britain, and its weſtern iſlands, excluſive of Orkney and Shetland, form an area of at leaſt thirty thouſand ſquare miles. The money and the blood expended in fooliſh wars, would have converted the whole country, like the Swiſs cantons, into gardens, corn-fields and paſtures. In proportion to the Helvetic population, we ſhould have amounted to five millions, beſides another million ſupported by the fiſheries, and by the manufactures to which they give riſe. Inſtead of ſix millions, the number of people in Scotland does not exceed about ſixteen hundred thouſand.

This mournful chapter is now approaching to a concluſion. I ſhall only juſt remind the reader of the maſſacre at Culloden, where Hanoverian ferocity exhibited its utmoſt horror. About two thouſand of the miſerable rebels were cut to pieces. The wounded were *butchered in cold blood*. The particulars muſt be deferred till ſome future opportunity. By a very ſtrange act of parliament, the duke of Cumberland received, for his ſervices, a penſion of twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling, added to fifteen thouſand pounds, which he had before.* The ruffians who performed ſuch work, at ſix-pence a day, were ſtill more execrable than thoſe who ſet them on. The toad-eating Scots exulted in this tragical conſummation of victory. The wretched newſpapers of

* This penſion ſerved to ſwell "*the loaded* COMPOST HEAP *of corrupt influence.*" Vide Mr. Burke's ſpeech, as to reforming the civil liſt, on the 11th of February 1780.

that æra, were crouded with verſes in praiſe of his royal highneſs. The circumſtances of the battle of Culloden itſelf, and the mean and barbarous exultation which it produced, were alike diſgraceful to the name of Britain. Cumberland continues to be remembered in Scotland, by the ſignificant appellation of *The bloody Duke.*

CHAPTER IV.

Blackſtone—His idea of the Engliſh conſtitution—Default of an hundred and ſeventy-one millions ſterling—Powell—Bembridge—Mary Talbot—Weſtminſter election—Anecdotes of the war with America—Engliſh Diſſenters—Their law-ſuit with the corporation of London—Society of friends—Unparalleled oppreſſion of that ſect in England—Boxing.

THE annals of Scotland preſent us with a ſeries of frightful maſſacres. For any purpoſe of moral utility which it can anſwer, the whole narrative had better be forgotten. During the laſt forty years, one half of our hiſtorians have exhauſted their talents to revile the memory of George Buchanan, by far the greateſt literary character that North-Britain ever produced, to decide whether Mary Stuart wrote ſome very ſtupid letters in French and Latin, and whether Henry Darnley was a cuckold. We ſhall certainly find ſuperior entertainment in the hiſtory of England, which, as her poets and hiſtorians tell us, hath always been the native ſeat of liberty. Here is a ſpecimen.

" During the reigns of Charles and James the ſecond, above " ſixty thouſand Non-conformiſts ſuffered, of whom *five thouſand* " DIED IN PRISON. On a moderate computation, theſe perſons " were pillaged of *fourteen millions* of property. Such was the " tolerating, liberal, candid ſpirit of the church of England."* This eſtimate cannot be intended to include Scotland; for it is likely that here alone, epiſcopacy ſacrificed ſixty thouſand victims. Of all ſorts of follies, the records of the church form the moſt outrageous burleſque on the human underſtanding. As to Charles the ſecond, it is full time that we ſhould be ſpared from the hereditary inſult of a holiday for his baneful reſtoration.

At five per cent. of compound intereſt, a ſum doubles in fourteen years and one hundred and five days, or ſeven times in a century. Put the caſe, that theſe fourteen millions of property were taken from the Engliſh diſſenters at once, in 1678, and that they would have doubled eight times between that period, and

* Flower, on the French Conſtitution, p. 437. and his authorities.

the preſent year, 1792. This is taking the loſs on the moſt moderate terms. By ſuch an account, the ſect, are, at this day, poorer, in conſequence of theſe perſecutions, than they otherwiſe would have been, by the ſum of three thouſand, five hundred and eighty-four millions ſterling.

" Our *religious* liberties were fully eſtabliſhed at the reformation: but the recovery of our civil and political liberties was a " work of longer time; they not being thoroughly and completely " regained till after *the reſtoration of king Charles*, nor fully and " explicitly acknowledged and defined, till the æra of the *happy* " revolution. Of a conſtitution ſo wiſely contrived, ſo ſtrongly " raiſed, and ſo highly finiſhed, it is hard to ſpeak with that " praiſe, which is juſtly and ſeverely its due. The thorough and " attentive contemplation of it will furniſh its beſt panegyric. " It hath been the endeavour of theſe commentaries, however " the execution may have ſucceeded, to examine its ſolid foun- " dations, to mark out its extenſive plan, to explain the uſe and " diſtribution of its parts, and from the harmonious concurrence " of thoſe ſeveral parts, to demonſtrate the elegant proportion " of the whole. We have taken occaſion to admire, at every turn, " the noble monuments of antient ſimplicity, and the more curi- " ous refinements (ſalt-bonds, and ſo forth,) of modern art. Nor " have its faults been concealed from view; for *faults it has* " (wonderful!), leſt we ſhould be tempted to think it of more " than HUMAN STRUCTURE."* The federal conſtitution of North-America looks, at leaſt upon paper, as well as that of Britain. James Madiſon, Eſq. of Virginia, is reported to have been its chief author. The citizens of the united ſtates, or at leaſt a great majority of their number, regard this conſtitution with attachment and admiration; but they never ſpeak of Mr. Madiſon as a *divinity*. They do not imagine, that ſix or eight hundred years of botching were, as in England, requiſite, before a political cub could be licked into any tolerable ſhape; for two or three years at the utmoſt, were employed in framing the preſent American conſtitution. In the paſſage now quoted, Sir William Blackſtone has only adopted the ordinary cant of the Engliſh nation. If any member of congreſs were to ſpeak in ſuch a ſtrain as to the legiſlative ſyſtem of that country, the whole aſſembly would conſider him as poſitively crazed. As to the "happy revolution," the reader may judge from what follows. " Two hundred thou- " ſand pounds a year *beſtowed upon the parliament*, have already " (1693,) drawn out of the pockets of the ſubjects, MORE MONEY, " than *all our kings ſince the conqueſt have had from the nation*. The " king (William) has about ſix ſcore members, whom I can reckon,

* Commentaries on the Laws of England, by Sir William Blackſtone. Book IV chap. XXXIII.

" who are in places, and are thereby ſo entirely at his devotion, " that though they have mortal feuds, *when out of the houſe*, and " though they are violently of oppoſite parties, in their notions " of government, yet they vote as lumpingly as the *lawn ſleeves*. " The houſe is ſo *officered* by thoſe who have places and penſions, " that the king can baffle any bill, quaſh all grievances, and " ſtifle all accompts."* As to the lawn-ſleeves, the twenty-ſix ſees of England, are eſtimated at ninety-two thouſand five hundred pounds, and the twenty-two Iriſh ſees, at ſeventy-four thouſand pounds, which is in whole, one hundred and ſixty-ſix thouſand, five hundred pounds. On a medium, each of theſe forty-eight parſons thus receive three thouſand, four hundred and ſixty-eight pounds fifteen ſhillings ſterling *per annum*.

Knowledge, like charity, ought to begin at home. If the Britiſh nation had been thoroughly acquainted with the true character of their own government, they would have ſaved themſelves the trouble of much impertinent encomium upon it, and of many contemptuous and unprovoked compariſons between the political ſituation of their neighbours and themſelves. Sir William Blackſtone, and other writers, ſpeak about the *glorious* revolution; but what *glory* could be annexed to the affair, it is not eaſy to ſee. An infatuated old tyrant was deſerted by all the world, and *fled* from his dominions. His people choſe a ſucceſſor. This was natural enough, but it had no connection with *glory*. James *ran* away, which precluded all opportunities for heroiſm. The character of the leaders in the revolution will not juſtify a violent encomium on the purity of their motives. The ſelection of William was reprobated very ſoon after, by themſelves, which excludes any pretence to much political foreſight. Here then is a *glorious* event, accompliſhed without an actual effort of courage, of integrity, or of wiſdom. When the Swiſs, the Scots, the Americans, the Corſicans, or the Dutch, wreſtled againſt the ſuperior forces of deſpotiſm, theſe were ſcenes of glory, and panegyric becomes intelligible. But when no reſiſtance happened, the diſmiſſions of a king and a coachman, were equally remote from it.

One of the principal duties of a national government, is to take care that the revenues may be duly applied to the ſervice of the public. But when we look into this branch of adminiſtration, the groſſeſt peculation every where meets our enquiries. Let us take in one hand the commentaries of Blackſtone, and in the other, the reports of the commiſſioners of public accounts, and we ſhall ſee how the panegyriſt agrees with the accomptant. The tenth report, which is dated the 1ſt of July, 1783, contains the following, among other curious paſſages.

* Burgh's Political Diſquiſitions, vol. 1. p. 450.

" The buſineſs of the auditor of the impreſt, to be collected " from his commiſſion, is to audit the accounts of moſt of the " receivers, and of all the officers and perſons entruſted with " the expenditure of the public revenue.— The accounts which " at this day remain for the audit of the exchequer, are *ſeventy* " *four millions*, the iſſues of twenty one years, for the navy ſer- " vice; *fifty eight millions*, the iſſues of eighteen years, for the ar- " my ſervice; near *thirty nine millions* iſſued to ſub-accountants; " together, *one hundred and ſeventy one millions*; the receipts and " iſſues of all the proviſions for the ſupport of the land forces " in America, and the Weſt-Indies, during the late war: all " theſe accounts muſt be paſſed. The public have a right and " good cauſe to demand it." Here is an account of *a hundred and ſeventy one millions ſterling*, that has arrived at the mature age of *twenty one years*, without a ſettlement. The reader may pauſe and ſtare, but the report is atteſted by five commiſſioners, and publiſhed by order of government. There is no great breach of charity in ſuſpecting that fifty or ſixty millions, out of theſe one hundred and ſeventy one millions, have been ſunk in the pockets of thoſe who handled them. In this report, Mr. John Powell, acting executor of lord Holland, and caſhier of the pay-office, makes a principal figure. In 1783, Mr. Powell cut his own throat. His friend, Mr. Bembridge, accountant of the pay office, had examined and paſſed ſome accounts between lord Holland and the exchequer. For this ſervice, he claimed and received two thouſand ſix hundred pounds. It was afterwards found, that forty eight thouſand ſeven hundred pounds, chargeable againſt lord Holland, had been improperly concealed, and Bembridge was proſecuted for breach of truſt. His counſeller, Mr. Bearcroft, urged a kind of defence, which placed the lawyer and his client exactly on a level. He ſaid, that the original blame, if there was any, reſted with the late Mr. Powell, who was the benefactor of Mr. Bembridge, and that it would have been ungenerous in the latter to have betrayed the former. Lord North, Mr. Burke, and ſeveral other birds of the ſame feather, gave Bembridge the higheſt character for *integrity*. Lord Mansfield was of a quite oppoſite opinion. The jury found Bembridge guilty. He was fined in two thouſand ſix hundred pounds, and condemned to ſix months of impriſonment. The author of the new annual regiſter, for 1783, ſays, that " he bore " this *very heavy judgment* with great fortitude and compoſure." His *compoſure* muſt be aſcribed to an hardened front. The fine was but nominal, as he only repaid money which he had not earned; and for an intended fraud of forty eight thouſand pounds, ſo trifling a confinement, in which he could enjoy all the luxuries of life, was no puniſhment at all. If Bembridge had been a poorer man, it is likely that his ſentence would have been

very different, at leaſt, if we may conjecture from the following caſe. "On the 18th of December, 1790, at the adjourned ſeſ-" ſion of the Old Bailey, Mary Talbot refuſed to accept his ma-" jeſty's pardon. She ſaid, that her return from tranſportation, " was on account of three dear infants, and that as ſhe could not " take them with her, *ſhe had rather die.* The recorder pointed " out the dreadful precipice on which ſhe ſtood; as it was moſt " likely, when her refuſal was intimated to his majeſty, that ſhe " would be ordered for execution. She ſtill perſiſted, and was " taken from the bar *in ſtrong convulſions.*" This article is copied from a London newſpaper. The original crime, or the ſubſequent fate of Mary Talbot, I have not learned. She had moſt likely been tranſported for ſome petty theft; and, after enduring the agony of a thouſand deaths, was now to be hanged for it; while Bembridge eſcaped with what was equal to no ſentence at all. A man muſt poſſeſs the apathy of marble, who can read this parallel without indignation. Scotland, for her humble ſhare in the bleſſings of ſuch a government, pays ſix hundred thouſand guineas of net caſh *per annum*, tranſported entirely *out of the country*; beſides her paying very ſmartly for ſoldiers, tidewaiters, exciſemen, and all other ſorts of conſtitutional caterpillars. Great and manifold have been the advantages of the union. It was highly worth our while to borrow twenty thouſand pounds from the treaſury of England* to ſecure this treaty by the purchaſe of a majority in our incorruptible parliament. When Horace Walpole diſcovered that Scotſmen had more ſenſe than other people, he had certainly been thinking of this loan, or of the verſes that we publiſhed in praiſe of the duke of Cumberland, after the battle of Culloden, or of our attempting to found a colony under the equinoctial line, at an expence of five hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, while two hundred thouſand Scotch men, women, and children, were begging from door to door, and thouſands and ten thouſands of others were dying of hunger. Perhaps he was alſo reflecting upon our magnanimous conflagration of a Roman catholic chapel, at Edinburgh, about fifteen years ago, and upon our heroically raiſing a few regiments, after the defeat of Burgoyne, in 1777, to ſubſcribe a ſecond convention at Saratoga. Or Mr. Walpole may have been abſorbed in admiration at the management of our royal boroughs, where twenty or thirty ſelf-elected perſons govern the revenues of the whole community. The city of Edinburgh, including Leith, has about eighty thouſand inhabitants, and an income that may be gueſſed at about ſixty, or an hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This revenue is under the

* Supra Chap. III.

† Catalogue of Royal and noble authors.

abſolute management of between thirty and forty ſelf-elected individuals; while the citizens at large, have no more to ſay in the diſpoſal of this money, than an equal number of Greeks or Jews, in the adminiſtration of the revenues of the Grand Turk. Let us proceed with the ſubject of national expenditure, and illuſtrate what Blackſtone ſo happily terms *the more curious refinements of modern art.*

Some times, a Britiſh miniſter gives an example of œconomy; for inſtance, in the caſe between George Smith, a publican of Weſtminſter, and George Roſe, eſquire, joint ſecretary to the treaſury, clerk of the parliament, maſter of the plea office, and repreſentative for the borough of Chriſt church. Mr. Smith was an agent employed by Mr. Roſe, in the conteſted election for Weſtminſter, between lord Hood, and lord John Townſhend. Mr. Smith detected ſix hundred bad votes, that had been given for lord John Townſhend. In this buſineſs he was engaged from the 21ſt of September, 1789. to the 17th of April following, a ſpace of thirty weeks; and Mr. Smith charged for his ſervices, half a guinea per day. The account amounted, at this rate, to one hundred and ten pounds five ſhillings ſterling, or three ſhillings and eight-pence for each vote. Mr. Smith was a perſon in decent circumſtances; and as this taſk was neither agreeable, nor even reputable, his demand ſeems to have been extremely moderate. A great part of the money muſt have been expended in doing the work. The account, when it firſt appeared, was ſtated in theſe words, *ſix hundred bad votes, bludgeon men, &c. humbly ſubmitted.* On the 21ſt of July, 1791, the cauſe was tried before a ſpecial jury, in the court of king's bench, and Roſe was caſt; ſo that, this experiment of miniſterial frugality was not ſucceſsful. Smith had been proſecuted in an exciſe court, and after a ſuit of three years, condemned in a fine of fifty pounds. Roſe interfered, and half of the fine was not paid. This account is extracted from that printed of the trial. As to the defence, Mr. Erſkine, counſel for the plaintiff, ſaid, that a more mean, paltry, ſhabby, contemptible one, he never ſaw brought into a court of juſtice. Mr. Roſe muſt hold an elector of Weſtminſter very cheap, if he does not imagine his vote worth three ſhillings and eight-pence. In a Weſtminſter election, at leaſt, there ſeems to be nothing of "*more than* "human ſtructure."

The ſeventh report of the commiſſioners of public accounts, bears date the 19th day of June, 1782. The ſubject of it is the expenditure of public money in America, during the laſt war. "The hire only of waggons, horſes, and *drivers*, employed un- "der the management of the quarter-maſter general, from the "25th of December, 1776, to the 31ſt of March, 1780, was "three hundred and thirty eight thouſand, four hundred and

" thirty five pounds, eight ſhillings, and ſix-pence three far-
" things, excluſive of proviſions, forage, repairs, and other con-
" tingent expences." The commiſſioners next ſtate the actual price of waggons and horſes, and the common rate at which they were hired. They affirm, that the owner of ſuch a waggon and horſes, received back his purchaſe-money, *in leſs than five months*. " After which, if poſſeſſed of fifty large waggons, and
" two hundred horſes, (and the waggons and horſes were, in ge-
" neral, the property of *a few officers only*,) he will have, as long
" as he can continue them in the ſervice of government, a clear
" income of nine thouſand eight hundred and eighty five pounds
" eight ſhillings and four-pence, a year, *ſecure from all riſk*." The hire of the whole waggons and horſes employed by the Britiſh troops, was, upon a medium, eighty ſeven thouſand, nine hundred and fifty-one pounds per annum. " The prime
" coſt of the waggons and horſes, *at the higheſt price*, is forty
" four thouſand one hundred and fifty pounds. This ſum being
" deducted from eighty ſeven thouſand, nine hundred and fifty
" one pounds, leaves the clear profit of *forty three thouſand eight
" hundred and one pounds*, for the firſt year." From the ſubſe-quent part of the time, the purchaſe-money of the horſes and waggons did not fall to be deducted, ſo that the profits became exorbitant. In the ſhort period of three years and a quarter, this ſtatement " gives the ſum of two hundred and forty one thou-
" ſand, ſix hundred and ninety pounds, paid by the public, be-
" yond what it would have coſt them, had the property of theſe
" waggons and horſes belonged to government." In a word, the public paid all together, two hundred and eighty five thouſand, ſeven hundred and forty pounds, for the hire of horſes and wag-gons, when the horſes and waggons themſelves could have been purchaſed for forty four thouſand, one hundred and fifty pounds. The reader will obſerve, that the incidental expences or damage, for example, the death of a horſe or the breaking of a wheel, were paid for over and above by the public. A homely compariſon may illuſtrate this abuſe. A tradeſman goes into a tap-room, and calls for a quart of porter, of which the common price is four pence. He gives the waiter half a crown, and, inſtead of drinking the liquor, he throws it into the face of the beſt cuſ-tomer that has ever entered his ſhop. Every body would ima-gine ſuch a man out of his ſenſes. The conduct of the Britiſh parliament juſtifies the ſuſpicion of the king of Pruſſia, that they had certainly been bitten by a mad-dog.* They paid, in the above inſtance, about ſeven times the real price of waggons and horſes for the hire of them, and theſe, when hired, were em-ployed in traverſing the continent of America, in the rear of

* Vide Introduction.

immenſe bands of highwaymen who were to load them with booty, while the Britiſh merchants and manufacturers might have been acquiring millions of guineas, by an amicable and honeſt intercourſe with that very country. Sir William Blackſtone ſays, that a thorough and attentive contemplation of the Engiſh conſtitution, will furniſh its beſt panegyric. This conſtitution can only be valuable, in the ſame degree that it is practicable, for, if *it cannot be reduced to practice*, it is of no more uſe than the republic of Plato, or the Utopia of Sir Thomas More. When we examine it, by the teſt of experience, we are immediately overwhelmed in an ocean of follies, and of crimes. Nothing can more compleatly prove its extreme imperfection, than the manner in which the Britiſh nation is every day bubbled out of its public money. The ſeventh report, which we are now quoting, forms a ſtriking monument of the groſs manner in which we have been cheated. Theſe reports compoſe one of the moſt inſtructive, and uſeful publications, that ever appeared in any country. They contain mountains of inconteſtible evidence, that a great part of the conſtitution, *if we are to judge by the preſent practice of it*, is abſolutely, and irrecoverably rotten; and yet, I have never ſeen them quoted in any one of the numerous pamphlets that are conſtantly iſſuing from the preſſes of political reformation. I do not recollect to have heard even their exiſtence mentioned by any perſon whatever; and though they muſt be perfectly familiar to a few individuals, they are as totally unknown to the great body of the people, as the archives of Memphis. As being of higher authority than the performance of any private remarker can be, they ſeem proper to be placed in oppoſition to Sir William Blackſtone. We ſhall, for the preſent, quit them, with the following particulars.

From the 1ſt of January, 1776, to the 31ſt of December, 178[illegible] ten millions, and eighty three thouſand, eight hundred and [illegible]ty-three pounds, two ſhillings and ſix-pence ſterling, were tranſmitted to North-America, for the extraordinary ſervices of the Britiſh army, within that period. Of theſe ten millions, it is to be apprehended, that five or ſix millions were pilfered on their way to the public ſervice. The commiſſioners give long details of fraud and impoſition. The following paſſage is a ſatisfactory ſpecimen of the ſtile of their report; at the ſame time, that it condenſes much intereſting information.

" Of the ten millions and upwards that have been iſſued for " theſe ſervices to North-America, within the laſt ſix years, ac- " counts of a few officers only, amounting to about eleven hun- " dred thouſand pounds, have been as yet rendered in the pro- " per office. The accounts of about one hundred and forty " thouſand pounds more are ready; ſo that the expenditure of

" eight millions, and ſeven hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds,
" ſtill remains to be accounted for.

" By an account of the yearly average number of his majeſty's
" forces ſerving at New-York, and its dependencies, from the
" 1ſt of January, 1776, to the 31ſt of December, 1780, extracted
" from returns of thoſe forces made to us from the war-office,
" purſuant to our requiſition, it appears that the number of the
" forces decreaſed every year from 1778; but, from the ac-
" counts of the contractors for remitting, the iſſue for the extra-
" ordinary ſervices of that army, greatly encreaſed during the
" ſame period.

" In the account of the iſſues to the officers in the four depart-
" ments, we find that the warrants iſſued to the quarter-maſter
" generals, ſince the 16th of July, 1780, and to the barrack-
" maſter general ſince the 29th of June, 1780, and to the com-
" miſſaries general, ſince the 25th of May, 1778, have been
" all temporary, for ſums on account; that no final warrant
" has been granted ſince thoſe ſeveral periods. So that theſe
" ſums have been iſſued, without even the ceremony of a quar-
" terly abſtract, and the confidential reliance on the officer, that
" his vouchers are forth coming.

" Of theſe ten millions, there have been iſſued to Canada,
" between the 1ſt of June, 1776, and the 23d of October laſt,
" two millions, two hundred and thirty ſix thouſand, and twen-
" ty pounds, eleven ſhillings and ſeven-pence; a province,
" whoſe military operations, ſince the year 1777, the public
" *are not made acquainted with.* This iſſue has been increaſing
" every year, and no apparent reaſon for it; and upon the ex-
" penditure in this province, there exiſts no check or controul
" that we know of whatever. Theſe are circumſtances of *ſuſpi-*
" *cion* and *alarm.*"

The following law-ſuit deſerves particular notice, becauſe the proceedings which give riſe to it, were not the actions of a ſingle individual, but compoſed a deliberate conſpiracy by one great body of people in England, againſt the property of another. At the ſame time it ſerves to exhibit " the harmonious concurrence,
" the elegant proportion, and the more curious *refinements* of
" modern art."

In the year 1748, the corporation of London reſolved to build a manſion-houſe. The ſcheme required money, and to procure it, they paſſed a by-law. They pretended to be anxious for getting *fit* and *able* perſons to ſerve the office of ſheriff to the corporation, and they impoſed a fine of four hundred pounds and twenty marks upon every perſon, who, being nominated by the lord-mayor, declined to ſtand the election in the common-hall. Six hundred pounds were laid upon every perſon, who, being elected by the common-hall, refuſed to ſerve that office.

The fines thus raiſed, were appropriated for building the manſion-houſe. In conſequence of this law, ſeveral diſſenters were nominated, and elected to the office of ſheriff. By the corporation act, made in the thirteenth year of Charles the ſecond, no perſon could be elected as ſheriff, unleſs he had taken the ſacrament, in the church of England, within a year preceding the time of his election. If he accepted the office, without this qualification, he was expreſsly puniſhable by the ſtatute. If a diſſenter, therefore, had, in virtue of ſuch an election, acted as ſheriff, he would have been ſeverely chaſtiſed. Hence the gentlemen of that perſuaſion refuſed the office, and paid their fines, to the amount of more than fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling. One of the perſons thus elected was blind; another was bed-ridden. Theſe were the *fit* and *able* perſons, whom the corporation of London choſe as ſheriffs. The practice went on for ſeveral years.

This corporation of London had been an aſſembly of the moſt arrant ſharpers, or ſuch a project for building a manſion-houſe never could have entered into their minds. It is impoſſible, that any mortal, poſſeſſing a ſpark of common honeſty, ſhould have been concerned in it. At laſt Allen Evans, eſq. a diſſenter, refuſed to pay this fine. An action was brought againſt him in the ſheriff court of the corporation of London; and in September, 1757, judgment was given againſt him. He appealed to the court of huſtings, another city court, and in 1759, the judgment was affirmed a ſecond time. At laſt it came before the houſe of lords, where, on the 4th of February, 1767, it was finally ſet aſide. We are not informed whether Mr. Evans paid his own expences. If he did ſo, it might have been cheaper for him to pay the fine. On this occaſion, lord Mansfield pronounced a ſpeech. "The de-"fendant," ſaid his lordſhip, "was by law incapable, at the time "of his pretended election: and it is my firm perſuaſion that he "was choſen becauſe *he was incapable*. If he had been capable, "he had not been choſen: for they did not want him to ſerve "the office. They choſe him, becauſe, without a breach of the "law, and an uſurpation on the crown, he could not ſerve the "office. They choſe him, that he might fall under the penalty "of their by-law, *made to ſerve a particular purpoſe*.—By ſuch a "by-law, the corporation have it in their power, to make every "diſſenter pay a fine of ſix hundred pounds, or *any ſum they* "*pleaſe*; for it amounts to that."*

In this ſpeech, lord Mansfield expreſſes the utmoſt deteſtation againſt every kind of religious perſecution, as againſt natural religion, revealed religion, and ſound policy. He declares, that he never read, without rapture, the liberal ſentiments of De Thou,

* Letters to the honourable Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, by Philip Furneaux, D. D Appendix, No. 2.

on this ſubject. His lordſhip then adds theſe remarkable words. " I am ſorry that of late, his countrymen (the French,) have be- " gun to open their eyes, ſee their error, and *adopt his ſentiments.* " I ſhould not have *broke my heart*, (I hope I may ſay ſo, without " breach of *chriſtian charity*,) if France had continued to cheriſh " the Jeſuits, and *to perſecute the hugunots.*" When Nero ſet fire to Rome, or when Caligula wiſhed that the Roman people had only one neck, they might have been partly excuſed, as either drunk or mad. Neither of theſe humble apologies can be advanced for lord Mansfield. When the Tartars once conquered China, it was propoſed, in a council of war, to extirpate the inhabitants, and turn the country into paſture. As his lordſhip was not a Tartar, nor had any proſpect of driving a herd of cattle through France, he ſtill remains without an excuſe or motive, as to the *caſe in point*, that could lead him to ſuch a horrid ſentiment. We ſhall quit this ſubject, with a ſhort citation from *The ſincere Huron.* " He talked," ſays Voltaire, " of the revo- " cation of the edict of Nantes with ſo much energy, he deplor- " ed, in ſo pathetic a manner, the fate of fifty thouſand fugitive " families, and of fifty thouſand others, *converted by dragoons*, " that the ingenuous Hercules could not refrain from ſhedding " tears."

It is foreign to the plan of this work, to enter into a detail of all the outrages which have been committed upon Engliſh diſſenters; but there is an aſſertion in a letter publiſhed by George Rous, eſquire, that cannot be paſſed over. Speaking of the late riots at Birmingham, he has theſe words. " Government love an oc- " caſional riot, which, with the aſſiſtance of the military, is eaſily " ſuppreſſed; in the mean time, it alarms the votaries of a for- " did luxury; makes them crouch for protection; and teaches " them patiently to endure evils impoſed by the hand of power. " Accordingly, for more than a month, preceding the 14th of " July, all *the daily prints in the intereſt of the treaſury, laboured to* " *excite a tumult.*" He adds, " to let looſe the rigours of juſtice, " might have been a cruel ſacrifice of *their friends.*" This gentleman is a member of the houſe of commons, and of reſpectable character and abilities. He thus expreſsly charges the Britiſh miniſtry with having excited incendiaries to burn the houſes of peaceable citizens. The practice of Mr. Pitt correſponds with the theory of lord Mansfield.

An act of religious toleration and relief is to take place in Scotland, within ſix months after the 1ſt of July, 1792. It contains the following clauſe. " If any perſon ſhall be preſent twice " in the ſame year, at divine ſervice, in any epiſcopal chapel or " meeting-houſe in Scotland, whereof the paſtor or miniſter ſhall " not pray in expreſs words for his majeſty, by name, for his " majeſty's heirs or ſucceſſors, and for all the royal family, in

« the manner herein before directed, every perſon ſo preſent, « ſhall, on lawful conviction thereof, for the firſt offence, forfeit « the ſum of five pounds, ſterling money." One half of the fine goes to the informer, and if the culprit cannot pay, he is to ſuffer ſix months of impriſonment. For any future offence, conviction produces two years of impriſonment. In virtue of this act, it would be very eaſy for a ſwindling parſon to fleece his flock. He has only to get his chapel as completely filled as poſſible, to place two or three informers in every corner of it, and then, in his prayers, to forbear all mention of his moſt ſacred majeſty. If four hundred perſons were preſent, this might be converted into a job of two thouſand pounds ſterling; as the ſtatute makes no exceptions in favour of thoſe who ſhould interrupt the perſon in the midſt of the ſervice. The principal actor in the farce, might, by connivance, abſcond; but there is ſtill one difficulty unprovided for. The informers themſelves muſt have been preſent at the perpetration of this crime, and therefore they are equally guilty with the reſt of the audience. It ought to be ſtipulated, that every informer is, in the firſt place, to receive his own pardon. The reſt of the act is of a piece.

The inſtitution of Sunday-ſchools, was at firſt highly popular in England. The eſtabliſhed clergy have ſince become jealous of the plan, and Mr. Rous, himſelf a churchman, gives, in his letter, ſome authentic and ſhameful examples of this fact. The church of England, in ſpite of many excellent characters among its divines, appears to be ſomewhat lame in its *political* principles. Its champion, Dr. Tatham, one of the *acting* incendiaries at Birmingham, publiſhed a letter ſome time ago, which has theſe words. « It would be a terrible thing, indeed, if all the people of Eng- « land ſhould learn to read and write." Since the publication of his letter, Dr. Tatham has received a promotion in one of the Engliſh univerſities, an article of intelligence that hath been formally announced in the public newſpapers. From this circumſtance, it appears, that certain members of Engliſh univerſities, inſtead of wanting to illuminate the minds of the people, are anxious to keep them in the dark. From their approbation of Dr. Tatham, a natural inference is, that we ought all, as quickly as poſſible, to forget our alphabet; and conſequently, that univerſities themſelves are to become uſeleſs. At preſent ſome of their members appear to be much worſe than uſeleſs, ſince they deſire to level the reſt of their fellow-creatures to the rank of dogs and horſes. We ought to have prevented the citizens of Boſton and Philadelphia from learning to read and write. If they had not been able to read their charters, they hardly could have diſcovered the breach of them. Such are the preſent principles that guide the internal adminiſtration of England. The houſes of diſſenters are burnt; and the rabble of the church

are to be prevented from learning to ſubſcribe their names. The baſeneſs and abſurdity of our behaviour to foreign nations vaniſhes in an abyſs of domeſtic infamy.

No man has any buſineſs to interfere with the religious opinions of his neighbour. As for a national church, we might as well ſet up a national laboratory, and oblige every perſon to buy a periodical quantity of pills. It is juſt as reaſonable to make a man pay for drugs that he will not ſwallow, as for ſermons that he will not hear. If we muſt have tyrants, ten thouſand apothecaries would be leſs peſtiferous than a corporation of ten thouſand ſuch vandals as Horſeley and Tatham. If every clergyman had, like St. Paul, been a journeyman carpenter, and delivered his ſermons without a fee, we ſhould not have heard quite ſo much of theological butchery. Look into eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, and you will there ſee, that in conſequence of *epiſcopal* ambition, a thouſand pitched battles have been fought, ten thouſand cities have ſunk in aſhes and blood, a million of gibbets have been erected, and an hundred millions of throats cut. From the reſtoration of Charles the ſecond, to the revolution, a ſpace of twenty eight years, one half of the Scotch nation were hunted like hares and partridges, by biſhops and their biped blood-hounds. Engliſhmen have inſulted the reſt of mankind, as ignorant of their civil and religious rights. The following narrative will explain the preſent claim of England to the epithet of a *free* country, and whether it is not, in ſome degree, as Dr. Johnſon ſays of Jamaica, "a den of tyrants, and a dungeon of "ſlaves."

On the 3d of July, 1789, the order of the day in the Britiſh houſe of peers, was for the ſecond reading of the bill "for pre-"venting vexatious proceedings with reſpect to tythes, dues, "or other eccleſiaſtical, or ſpiritual profit." Earl Stanhope, who had brought in this bill, moved, that it ſhould be committed. His lordſhip explained the religious ſcruples, which prevented quakers from paying tythes. Their ſcruples were recognized by law. By an act of parliament, in the reign of king William, it was enacted, that tythes due by quakers, might be recovered in a manner different from tythes due by any other perſons; providing always, that the ſum to be levied, was *under ten pounds*. If the ſum was higher, they were ſtill at the mercy of *the church*; ſo that even this act of protection was very defective. The earl ſaid, that after this *humane* law had paſt, the common way of recovering tythes from a quaker, was by application to two juſtices of the peace, who granted a warrant to diſtreſs his goods. Of late, ſome clergymen have not been contented with recovering their tythes, in this way, but have ſeized and impriſoned the quakers themſelves. About two months ago, his lordſhip ſaid, that a quaker, a man of ſome property,

had been caſt into the common jail of Worceſter; he was there ſtill, and, though confined for a ſum of only five ſhillings, *muſt remain there for life.*

The act of William is in itſelf imperfect; but beſides, two methods are known, by which it can be evaded, or ſtrictly ſpeaking, contradicted. In the firſt place, the ſtatute book, that jumble of juridical deformity, contains an unrepealed law, paſt in the reign of Henry the eighth, * which affords full ſcope to eccleſiaſtical vengeance. By this act, which was made above an hundred years before the ſect of quakers exiſted, when any man refuſed to pay his tythe, application was directed to be made to two juſtices of the peace. They "ſhall have power to attach "the perſon againſt whom ſuch requeſt ſhall be made, and com- "mit him to ward, there to remain, without bail or mainprize, "until he ſhall have found ſufficient ſurety, to be bound by re- "cognizance or otherwiſe, to give due obedience to the proceſs, "decrees, and ſentences of the eccleſiaſtical court." Lord Stanhope ſubjoined, that as quakers, by their religion, never can give ſuch obedience, this law is, to all quakers, *impriſonment for life.* By ſeveral other acts, the refuſal to pay tythes, makes the offender ſubject to excommunication in a ſpiritual court, and that again is to be followed by impriſonment. The ſum of the whole was, that the act paſt in the reign of William to protect the quakers, had no real value.

At Coventry, his lordſhip ſtated, that ſix quakers had lately been proſecuted for about four-pence each, as eaſter offerings. The expences of the ſpiritual court, charged againſt them, came to an hundred and ſixty-five pounds, eleven ſhillings ſterling. Their own expences were an hundred and twenty-eight pounds one ſhilling and ſix-pence. Two ſhillings of eaſter offerings were thus to coſt two hundred and ninety-three pounds, twelve ſhillings and ſix-pence of expences. The authors of this proſecution could, by application to two juſtices of the peace, have recovered their two ſhillings, at the charge of perhaps two or three guineas. "As, by their religion, the quakers can never "pay, *nor any of the other quakers for them*, ſome of them have "been excommunicated; the conſequence of which is, that "they cannot act as executors, that they cannot ſue in any "court, to recover any debt due to them, and in forty days af-

* An hundred ſheets of paper would not be large enough to contain the catalogue of his majeſty's crimes. "He was ſincere, open, gallant, liberal, and "capable at leaſt of a temporary friendſhip and attachment." Hiſtory of the houſe of Tudor, by Mr. Hume, chap. VII. He murdered his wife Anne Boleyne, by the verdict of a jury of twenty-ſix Engliſh peers; a verdict that ſhews what wretches both peers and jurors may ſometimes be. The day after the maſſacre of this unfortunate woman, he married another. In the courſe of his *Reformation*, ninety colleges, and an hundred and ten hoſpitals, for the relief of the poor, were by one act of parliament annihilated.

" ter excommunication, they are liable to be ſent to priſon, " there to remain till death ſhall deliver them from a jail, where " they may be dying for years, and periſh by inches; and this " merely for *the ſake of a few pence*; which few pence even might " have been immediately recovered by means of the *humane* act " of king William, *had the prieſt thought fit.*"* It was criminal in the legiſlature to leave them at his mercy.

" Theſe," ſaid earl Stanhope, " are inſtances of eccleſiaſtical " tyranny and oppreſſion, and of cold, deliberate, and conſum- " mate cruelty, which would diſgrace any ſet of men whatever." Some perſons at Coventry, who were not of the ſociety of friends, raiſed money by ſubſcription, to put a ſtop to the proſecutions againſt theſe ſix men. But lord Stanhope was of opinion, that the remedy would be dangerous, if not fatal, to the whole ſociety. This example of humanity would only ſerve to whet the avarice of the proctors of the ſpiritual court. " Every " quaker in the kingdom," ſaid his lordſhip, " may, as the law " now ſtands, be *impriſoned for life*; and it is the more cruel, for " perſons ſo impriſoned, are not *admitted to bail.*" The bill that gave riſe to theſe remarks was rejected.

The philoſophical ideas of Dr. Tatham have made conſiderable progreſs among his countrymen. In Scotland, it is the bitterſt reproach to tell any man that even his grand-father could not read. In England, the caſe is ſometimes otherwiſe; and the utter deſtitution of acquaintance with an alphabet, is viſible in the groſs manners of ſome individuals among the ordinary claſſes. The diſgraceful practice of boxing, continues to be highly popular in England. Thirty, forty, or fifty thouſand pounds are ſometimes betted among the ſpectators, on the proweſs of a favourite champion. Ten thouſand perſons have been known to travel fifty miles to attend a match of this kind; which is always accompanied by a variety of inferior battles amongſt the mob. The price for tickets of admiſſion within the paliſadoes, is commonly half a guinea; but they are very frequently overturned, in the courſe of the combat, by the tempeſtuous curioſity of the rabble. The high roads from London to the ſcene of action are, on ſuch occaſions, crouded with carriages and horſemen; and the inns and ale-houſes, for a conſiderable diſtance round the country, are ſhure of being overwhelmed with cuſtomers. It is uſual for the partiſans of each combatant to bring cockades in their pockets; which, if he gains the victory, are transferred to their hats. The firſt nobility and gentry make no ſcruple to officiate on the ſtage as umpires, bottle-holders, and ſeconds. They commence pupils to the " profeſſors of " the *ſcience* of pugilliſm," and are ambitious of being conſulted in

* Debrett's parliamentary debates, vol. 25, part ſecond, p. 264.

ſettling the terms of a match. One of the various treatiſes on this *noble* ſubject has been dedicated to Lord Barrymore, with rapturous encomiums on his Lordſhip's proficiency in the art. The antagoniſts are uſually knocked down ten, fifteen, or twenty times, before the conteſt comes to an end. The printers of newſpapers diſpatch emiſſaries to the ſpot; and fortunate is he who can obtain, by expreſs, the moſt early detail of the particulars of the engagement; which are transferred into the monthly magazines for the edification of the riſing age.

In Scotland or Ireland, an Engliſhman, who behaves properly, may reſide, to the end of his life, without hearing a ſingle national reproach. But one-half of the inhabitants of England diſplay the moſt illiberal contempt for the reſt of mankind, that ever diſtinguiſhed a civilized people. "Some years ago," ſays Dr. Wendeborn, "ſcarcely any body durſt ſpeak French in the "ſtreets of London, or in public places, without running the "riſque of being inſulted by the populace, who took any fo-"reign language to be French; and frequently ſaluted him, who "ſpoke what they did not underſtand, with the appellation of "*French dog*." This practice becomes highly ridiculous, when we reflect that London affords a hoſpitable rendezvous to half the ſwindlers, quacks, and adventurers in Europe; nor is there any other nation, which, both abroad and at home, affords ſuch numerous and egregious bubbles. On the continent, an Engliſh traveller is conſtantly marked out by landlords, tradeſmen, connoiſſeurs, and fiddlers, as a victim of peculiar impoſition; though it is true, that theſe gentry very frequently find themſelves miſtaken. In the laſt century, England poſſeſſed a very extenſive commerce in the Levant; and the polite cuſtom above quoted from Dr. Wendeborn, has, very likely, been imported from the ſtreets of Conſtantinople, the only other metropolis, at leaſt on the ſurface of this planet, where it is uſual to addreſs ſtrangers with a ſimilar ſalutation.

CHAPTER V.

Civil liſt—Accumulation of fifteen millions—Dog kennels—George the firſt—His liberal ideas of government—George the ſecond—His hoſpitality at the burial of his eldeſt ſon—Exciſe.

"IT is impoſſible to maintain that dignity, which a king of "Great-Britain ought to maintain, with an income in any "degree *leſs*, than what is now eſtabliſhed by parliament."*

* Commentaries on the Laws of England, by Sir William Blackſtone. Book 1. chap. VIII.

Sir John Sinclair has given a long account of the civil liſt. By this, it appears, that between two and three hundred thouſand pounds annually are paid out of it, for *efficient* officers of ſtate, ambaſſadors and judges, for example. In 1785, the royal famiJy, with its fiddlers, chaplains, wet nurſes, lords of the bedchamber, rockers, groom of the ſtole, and nymphs of the cloſeſtool, a ſtation worth forty-eight pounds a year, coſt all together, about ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling. Mr. Burgh ſpeaks in the following terms of the civil liſt.

" There we find places piled on places, to the height of the " tower of Babel. There we find a maſter of the houſehold, " treaſurer of the houſehold, comptroller of the houſehold, cof- " ferer of the houſehold, deputy-cofferer of the houſehold, " clerks of the houſehold, clerks comptrollers of the houſehold, " clerks comptrollers deputy-clerks of the houſehold, office- " keepers, chamber-keepers, neceſſary-houſe-keepers, purveyors " of bread, purveyors of wine, purveyors of fiſh, purveyors of " butter and eggs, purveyors of confectionary, deliverers of " greens, coffee-women, ſpicery-men, ſpicery-men's aſſiſtant- " clerks, ewry-men, ewry-men's aſſiſtant-clerks, kitchen-clerks " comptrollers, kitchen-clerk-comptroller's firſt clerks, kitchen- " clerk-comptroller's junior clerks, yeomen of the mouth, " under yeomen of the mouth, grooms, grooms children, paſ- " try-yeomen, harbingers, harbingers' yeomen, keepers of ice- " houſes, cart-takers, cart-taker's grooms, bell-ringers, cock and " cryer, table-deckers, water-engine turners, ciſtern-cleaners, " keeper of fire-buckets, and a thouſand or two more of the ſame " kind, which if I were to ſet down, I know not who would " take the trouble of reading them over. Will any man ſay, and " keep his countenance, that one, in one hundred of theſe hang- " ers-on is of any real uſe? Cannot our good king have a poach- " ed egg for his ſupper, unleſs he keeps a purveyor of eggs, and " his clerks, and his clerks deputy-clerks, at an expence of five " hundred pounds a year, while the nation is ſinking in a bot- " tomleſs ocean of debt? Again; who are they, the yeomen of " the mouth, and who are the under-yeomen of the mouth? " What is their buſineſs? What is it to yeoman a king's mouth? " What is the neceſſity for a cofferer, where there is a treaſur- " er? And, where there is a cofferer, what occaſion for a de- " puty-cofferer? Why a neceſſary-houſe keeper? Cannot a king " have a water-cloſet, *and keep the key of it in his own pocket?* And " my little cock and cryer, what can be his poſt? Does he come " under the king's chamber-window, and call the hour, mi- " micking the crowing of the cock? This might be of uſe be- " fore clocks and watches, eſpecially repeaters, were invented; " but ſeems as ſuperfluous now, as the deliverer of greens, the " coffee-women, ſpicery men's aſſiſtant-clerks, the kitchen-

" comptroller's firſt clerks and junior clerks, the grooms' chil-
" dren, the harbinger's yeomen, &c. Does the maintaining ſuch
" a number of idlers ſuit the preſent ſtate of our finances? When
" will frugality be neceſſary, if not now? Queen Anne gave
" an hundred thouſand pounds a year to the public ſervice.*
" We pay debts on the civil liſt of ſix hundred thouſand
" pounds in one article, *without aſking how there comes to be a de-*
" *ficiency.*"†

The following converſations, on the ſame ſubject, betweeen the late princeſs of Wales and Mr. Dodington, cannot fail to excite the attention and ſurpriſe of every reader. " She," the princeſs, " ſaid, that notwithſtanding what I had mentioned of the
" king's kindneſs to the children, and civility to her, *thoſe things*
" *did not impoſe upon her*; that there were other things which
" ſhe could not get over; ſhe wiſhed the king was leſs civil, and
" that he put leſs of *their* money into his own pocket; that he
" got full thirty thouſand pounds *per annum*, by the poor prince's
" death. If he would but have given them the duchy of Corn-
" wall to have paid his debts, it would have been ſomething.
" Should reſentments be carried beyond the grave? Should the
" innocent ſuffer? Was it becoming ſo great a king *to leave his*
" *ſon's debts unpaid?* and ſuch inconſiderable debts? I aſked her
" what ſhe thought they might amount to? She anſwered, ſhe
" had endeavoured to know, as near as a perſon could properly
" enquire, who, not having it in her power, could not pretend to
" pay them. She thought, that, to the tradeſmen and ſervants,
" they did not amount to ninety thouſand pounds; that there
" was ſome money owing to the earl of Scarborough, and that
" there was, abroad, a debt of about ſeventy thouſand pounds.
" That this hurt her exceedingly, though ſhe did not ſhew it. I
" ſaid, that it was impoſſible to new-make people; the king could
" not now be altered, and that it added much to the prudence
" of her conduct, her taking no notice of it. She ſaid, ſhe could
" not, however, bear it, nor help ſometimes giving the king to
" underſtand her, in the ſtrongeſt and moſt diſagreeable light.
" She had done it more than once, and ſhe would tell me how
" it happened the laſt time. You know, continued ſhe, that the
" crown has a power of reſumption of Carleton houſe and gar-
" dens for a certain ſum. The king had, not long ſince, an in-
" clination to ſee them, and he came to make me a viſit there.
" We walked in the gardens, and he, ſeeming mightily pleaſed
" with them, commended them much, and told me that he was
" extremely glad I had got ſo very pretty a place. I replied, it

* The reader may be acquainted with the progreſs and termination of this act of royal munificence, by conſulting anecdotes of the earl of Chatham, quarto edition, vol. 11, p. 50.

† Political Diſquiſitions, vol. 11. p. 128.

" was a pretty place, but that the prettineſs of a place was an " objection to it, when one was not ſure to keep it. The king " ſaid, that there was, indeed, a power of reſumption in the " crown, for four thouſand pounds, but ſurely I could not ima- " gine that it could ever be made uſe of againſt me! How " could ſuch a thought come into my head? I anſwered, no; " it was not *that* which I was afraid of, but I was afraid, *there* " *were thoſe who had a better right to it, than either the crown or* " *I.* He ſaid, oh! no, no, *I do not underſtand that; that cannot be.* " I replied, I did not pretend to underſtand thoſe things, but I " was afraid, *there were ſuch people.* He ſaid, *Oh! I know nothing* " *of that. I do not underſtand it;* and immediately *turned the diſ-* " *courſe.* I was pleaſed with the ingenuity of the attack, but " could not help ſmiling at the defence, nor ſhe neither, when " ſhe told it."*

This princeſs was mother to the preſent king of England; and theſe debts of her huſband, the prince of Wales, are ſtill unpaid. The Engliſh laws have declared, that *the king can do no wrong.* This maxim juſtifies George the third for neglecting to pay the ſervants and tradeſmen of his father. But if a private perſon had behaved in the ſame way, his conduct would have been regarded as the moſt ſhabby, diſhonourable, ungrateful, and even diſhoneſt, that can be imagined. The loſs of theſe ninety thouſand pounds muſt have injured, or perhaps ruined, a multitude of families, beſides the ſeventy thouſand pounds owing abroad, which may have reduced ſome very honeſt men to inſolvency. At the ſame time, the king of England has the command of more ready caſh than any man in Europe; and as if Europe itſelf, with all its repoſitories, were not ſufficient to contain his wealth, he has lodged large ſums in the public funds of North-America.

" We talked of the king's accumulation of treaſure, which " ſhe reckoned at four millions. I told her, that what was be- " come of it, how employed, where, and what was left, I did " not pretend to gueſs; but that I computed the accumulation " to be from twelve to fifteen millions. That theſe things, with- " in a moderate degree, perhaps leſs than a fourth part, could " be proved *beyond all poſſibility of a denial;* and, when the caſe " ſhould exiſt, would be publiſhed in controverſial pamphlets."† One might ſuppoſe this accumulation to be incredible, but the affair admits of an eaſy ſolution. In 1756, Dr. Shebbeare publiſhed letters to the people of England. In the third letter, he ſays, that " during wars carried on ſolely for Germanic intereſts, " the Engliſh have ſpent in paying and ſuſtaining thoſe powers,

* Dodington's Diary, p. 167.
† Ibid. p. 290.

" *twenty-eight millions*, hiring princes and people to defend their " own territories, and protect their own properties.—Of this " ſum, *two millions three hundred thouſand pounds*, Engliſh money, " *has* been paid to the elector of Hanover, as ſubſidies for troops " hired to defend their own country.—Since the bleſſed acceſ- " ſion of this family to the throne of theſe realms, the elector " of Hanover muſt have been enabled to ſave, from his Ger- " manic revenues, by not reſiding on the ſpot, at leaſt *two hun-* " *dred thouſand pounds* annually. Theſe ſums, without entering " into a ſtrict calculation of encreaſing intereſt, like a Change- " Alley broker, and yet not rejecting it, muſt, without doubt, " have doubled themſelves to the amount of *ſixteen millions four* " *hundred thouſand pounds*." Dr. Shebbeare was ſent to the pillory, but that does not affect the force of his facts. Beſides all this money, and his ſalary as king, George the ſecond extracted from parliament many very large ſums, to the extent of five hundred thouſand pounds at once, as will be fully detailed in another place. The aſſertion of Mr. Dodington is, in itſelf, extremely probable, and the authenticity of the Diary has been univerſally admitted. It is much to be lamented, that a govern- ment, formed, as Sir William Blackſtone ſays, upon ſuch *ſolid foundations*, was not able to hold America in abſolute ſubjection. If the contents of this ſingle chapter could have been publiſhed in that country, at the commencement of the late revolution, it is next to impoſſible that ſuch a being as an American tory would have exiſted. The colonies did not ſeem to have known one hun- dredth part of the reaſons which they really had for ſtriving to break our parliamentary handcuffs.

In 1755, Mr. Pitt had a conference with the duke of New- caſtle, which has been recorded by Mr. Dodington. A ſhort ſpecimen may ſerve to ſhew how the Britiſh nation has been bubbled by government. " The duke *mumbled* that the Saxon " and Bavarian ſubſidies were offered and *preſſed*, but there " was nothing done in them; that the Heſſian was perfected, " but the Ruſſian was not concluded. Whether the duke meant " unſigned, or unratified, we cannot tell, but we underſtand it " is ſigned. When his grace dwelt ſo much upon the king's *ho-* " *nour*, Mr. Pitt aſked him, what, if out of the FIFTEEN MIL- " LIONS *which the king had ſaved*, he ſhould give his kinſman of " Heſſe one hundred thouſand pounds, and the czarina, one " hundred and fifty thouſand pounds, to be off from theſe " bad bargains, and not ſuffer the ſuggeſtions, ſo dange- " rous to his own quiet, and the ſafety of his family, to be " thrown out, which would, and muſt be, inſiſted upon in a " debate of this nature? Where would be the harm of it? The " duke had nothing to ſay, but deſired they might talk it over " again with the chancellor. Mr. Pitt replied, he was at their

" command, though *nothing could alter his opinion.*"† Much has been ſaid about the integrity of Mr. Pitt. It was the extremity of baſeneſs in him and others, to keep ſuch a ſecret. This man has been very lucky, in gaining a popular character. We admire his *integrity*, and the Americans, even at this day, revere his generous exertions in their behalf. He declared loudly, in parliament, that he would not ſuffer the colonies *to manufacture a hob-nail for a horſe-ſhoe.*

The reader will here obſerve, that thirty-ſeven years have elapſed ſince George the ſecond had ſaved FIFTEEN MILLIOMS from the civil liſt. It has been ſaid above, that a ſum at five *per cent.* of compound intereſt, doubles itſelf in fourteen years and an hundred and five days. Now, at this rate, theſe fifteen millions would, in thirty-ſeven years, have multiplied to more than ninety-one millions and an half. It is indeed true, as Mr. Dodington ſays, that we cannot tell *what has become of it*, or *how it has been employed*, but we know that none of the money has been applied to the national ſervice. We have ſince paid ſeveral large arrears into which the civil liſt had fallen, and an hundred thouſand pounds *per annum*, have been added to the royal ſalary. At the ſame time, the nation has been borrowing money to pay that ſalary, the expences of Gibraltar and Canada, for the ſupport of the war-ſyſtem, and other matters, nominally at three or four *per cent.* but in reality, ſometimes at five and an half *per cent.* To theſe fifteen millions, we may ſafely add a million for the expences of collecting it from the people; and let us again revert to the principle, that a ſum taken from their purſes, brings a real loſs of ten *per cent.* At this rate of compound intereſt, the ſixteen millions would double themſelves once in ſeven years and fifty-three days, or five times in thirty-ſeven years and nine months. By this royal manœuvre. the public hath loſt five hundred and twelve millions ſterling. Theſe ſixteen millions, if left in our pockets, would have made the national debt as light as a feather, and all our taxes, a trifling burthen. Great part of the money, if not the whole, was ſent to Hanover, and thus utterly loſt to Britain.

The princeſs dowager of Wales, mother to George the third, once obſerved to Mr. Dodington, that " She wiſhed " Hanover in the ſea, as the cauſe of all our misfortunes." Since the year 1714, Britain has been dragged after that electorate, like a man of war in the tow of a bum-boat. Hence the royal accumulation of fifteen millions ſterling; and " hence it follows " of neceſſity, that vaſt numbers of our people are compelled to " ſeek their livelihood by begging, robbing, ſtealing, cheating, " pimping, flattering, ſuborning, forſwearing, forging, gaming, " lying, fawning, hectoring, voting, ſcribbling, ſtar-gazing, poi-

† Dodington's Diary, p. 373.

« ſoning, whoring, canting, libelling, free-thinking, and the like « occupations."*

The ſum above ſtated, might have been employed in clearing, and planting the waſte lands of Britain and Ireland. In Hampſhire, there is a tract of land, about ten or twelve miles ſquare, all in one body, that ſtill lies in a ſtate of nature. Saliſbury plains are covered with deer-parks. In an extent of about ſixteen miles long, and five miles broad, we meet with five lodges, where the deer throng in crouds, and are regularly fed. Theſe particulars are inſerted on the authority of a reſpectable gentleman, well acquainted with that part of England. Other examples of the ſame ſort might be given, even in England, though that is by far the moſt populous and beſt cultivated part of the three kingdoms. Many large tracts are ſtill ſuffered to lie in *commons*, that is, in natural graſs, which would produce ten times their preſent value of crops, if properly ploughed and manured. As to Scotland and Ireland, ſeven-eighths of the ſoil is at this moment in a ſtate of nature, not the ſmalleſt attempt having ever been made for its improvement. Six miles below Dumfries, and about a mile from a ſeat of lord Stormont's, there is an extent of four or five miles ſquare, ſometimes covered by the tide, which has broke in upon it within the laſt fifty years. It is ſurrounded on two ſides by dry land, and could be eaſily recovered from Solway Frith. The ſleech is now carried off in large quantities for manure. At the ſame time we are fighting for iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, like the dog in the fable, who dropped the *ſubſtance*, while ſnapping at the *ſhadow*. Beſides Saliſbury plains, there are numerous deer-parks. At Goodwood, in Suſſex, the duke of Richmond has a park for game four miles round. The dog-kennel coſt ten thouſand

* Gulliver's Travels, part IV.

To this enumeration may be added *franking*. In 1763, the amount of franked letters was, one hundred and ſeventy thouſand, ſeven hundred pounds. Blackſtone's Commentaries, book I. chap. 8. At that time, the two houſes of parliament contained, perhaps, ſeven hundred and fifty members, for Engliſh peers were leſs numerous then than they are now. At a medium, this ſum was equal to an annuity of two hundred and twenty-ſeven pounds, twelve ſhillings ſterling for each member. Some commoners paid the wages of their footmen with franks, at half a crown *per* dozen. About ſixteen years ago, Sir Robert Herries, a banker in London, obtained a ſeat as member for the five Scots boroughs, included in the diſtrict of Dumfries. His object was ſaid to be, the ſaving of poſtage on all letters directed to his office. This was computed at ſeven hundred pounds ſterling a year. Mr. Pitt has made ſome very proper regulations on this head. He was warmly oppoſed by Edmund Burke.

In the Hebrides, four places excepted, no poſt-office is eſtabliſhed. " A letter " from Skye to Lewis, the direct diſtance but a few leagues, if ſent by poſt, muſt " travel about *twelve hundred miles*, before it can reach the place of its deſtination." Dr. Anderſon's Introduction, p. 28. One is at a loſs to conceive, on what account the Scots, during the American war aſſumed, in general, ſuch a rancorous antipathy to the cauſe of the United States. Their zeal for the Engliſh government was violent; yet as juſtly might an ox feel attachment to the farmer who fattens him for the market.

pounds. There are twenty game-keepers. Before the revolution in France, above a thouſand partridge eggs were brought every year, from that country. The importation is now ſtopt. At preſent, his grace keeps only forty pair of hounds at Goodwood. Some years ago, it was mentioned in the newſpapers, that the duke of Bedford, for the purpoſe of hunting, had purchaſed, and brought over from France, ſome hundreds of live foxes. He is, at this time, building at Wooburn, a dog-kennel; the expence of which is computed at *ſeventy thouſand pounds ſterling*. If England contains only an hundred ſuch parks as that of Goodwood, an hundred ſquare miles of land are loſt to the public. Like the rocks at fort William, and the wilds of Aberdeenſhire, every foot of this land might be converted into gardens and corn-fields. If we aſſign an hundred and ſixty people to every ſquare mile, which is leſs than the reputed population of Switzerland, we have an extruſion of ſixteen thouſand perſons from ſubſiſtence, for the ſake of hares, foxes and partridges. But this is not all. The duke of Richmond keeps twenty game-keepers, and forty pair of hounds. His dog-kennel is totally eclipſed by that of Wooburn; and hence we may reaſonably preſume, that the hounds and game-keepers of the duke of Bedford, are ſtill more numerous. But let us once more take the duke of Richmond for a ſtandard, and ſay, that the whole kingdom of England contains only an hundred times more than his private hunting eſtabliſhment. We have then two thouſand game-keepers, and four thouſand pair of hounds to raiſe the price of proviſions. This is a great deal; and yet, it is more likely that the country maintains twenty thouſand pair of hounds than four thouſand. The loſs of one hundred ſquare miles of land, and the burden of ſuch a multitude of uſeleſs men and dogs, call loudly for the final deſtruction of every deer park in Britain. On the 4th of February, 1791, a petition was preſented to the houſe of commons from Aulceſter, for a tax upon dogs. The petition ſtates, that "where many dogs are kept, and packs of "hounds, by gentlemen, the prices of many articles of life are "ſo much encreaſed, (particularly ſheeps' heads, and other in-"ferior pieces of butcher's meat, which formerly made an eſ-"ſential part of the maintenance of the poor,) as to be vaſtly "*beyond their reach*, and are now ſold only for the *kennels* of their "opulent neighbours."* The maſter of a dog-kennel, who ſupports it by ſtarving the poor, as completely deſerves the gallows as a horſe-ſtealer or a highway-man. In Scotland alſo, landholders can be pointed out, who ſquander conſiderable portions of wholeſome food upon their four-footed vermin. Theſe facts ſhew the prodigious waſte of land and people, in conſequence

* Senator, vol. 1, p. 266.

of the preſent tyrannical ſyſtem of game laws. Even to the cultivated parts of England, great damage is frequently done in the courſe of a fox-chace. If, to theſe conſiderations, we add the many thouſands of horſes that are kept by the rich for hunting, racing, and other trifling amuſements, it will turn out that ſome hundred thouſands of additional people could be maintained by the food caſt away upon ſuperfluous quadrupeds. Some writers have dreamed that Britain is overſtocked with people. In fact, this iſland could, with Chineſe management, readily ſupport quadruple its preſent number of inhabitants. The ſame remark applies to almoſt every other part of Europe, Holland and Switzerland excepted. While ſo many millions of Britiſh acres lie uncultivated, we pay ſix or ſeven hundred thouſand pounds a year to the family of a ſingle man. At a round calculation, let us gueſs, that fifty pounds ſterling are ſufficient for converting an acre of barren bogs, or moors, into meadows or corn-fields. The ſum of ſix hundred and ſixty thouſand pounds, paid in 1785, to the immediate uſe of the crown, might thus have fertilized an hundred and twelve thouſand acres.

The moſt miſerable part of the ſtory ſtill remains to be told; but the particulars muſt be deferred to ſome future time. The civil liſt is a gulf yawning to abſorb the whole property of the Britiſh empire. We look back without ſatisfaction, and forward without hope.

Lord Cheſterfield informs us, that George the firſt was exceedingly hurt, even by the weak oppoſition which he met with in parliament, on account of ſubſidies. He complained to his moſt intimate friends, that he had come over to England to be *a begging king*. His vexation was, that he could not command money without the farce of aſking it; for, in his reign, as at preſent, the debates of parliament were but a farce. Such were the liberal ſentiments of the firſt ſovereign of the proteſtant ſucceſſion.

This king deteſted his ſon, George the ſecond, as an offſpring of illicit love. His jealouſy was fatal to the life of count Koningſmarck, a Swediſh nobleman. On the ſame account, his wife, the heireſs to the duchy of Zell, died in priſon, after a confinement of thirty-ſix years. George the firſt ſhould have conſidered this accident, if real, as a *renovation*, rather than a *corruption*, of the royal blood. For tradition reports, that *his own* mother, the princeſs Sophia, bore a reſemblance to Elizabeth, maiden queen of England. Like that illuſtrious and admired ſovereign, Sophia, by the formidable number of her male favourites, atteſted the ardor of her ſenſibility, and the robuſtneſs of her conſtitution.

The quarrel between George the ſecond, and his ſon Frederick, prince of Wales, father to George the third, aroſe from a

different cauſe. It laſted for more than twenty years, and will be explained in my ſucceeding hiſtory of the reign of George the ſecond. It was carried to a dreadful height. When old queen Caroline was dying, Frederick requeſted permiſſion to ſee her. His mother refuſed acceſs to her ſon, and expired without an interview. Fifteen years after, Frederick himſelf died, and Dodington has obliged us with ſome anecdotes of his burial. By theſe we learn, that George grudged a dinner to the courtiers who attended it. The following is part of the account which Dodington gives of this affair.

"At ſeven o'clock, I went, according to the order, to the "houſe of lords. The many ſlights that the poor remains of a "much loved friend and maſter had met with, and who was "now preparing the laſt trouble he could give his enemies, ſunk "me ſo low, that for the firſt hour, I was incapable of making "any obſervation.

"The proceſſion began, and (except the lords appointed to "hold the pall, and attend the chief mourner, and thoſe of his "own domeſtics) when the attendants were called in their ranks, "there was not one Engliſh lord, not one biſhop, and only one "Iriſh lord, two ſons of dukes, one baron's ſon, and two privy "counſellors," (of whom the author was *one*) "out of theſe great "bodies, to make a ſhow of duty to a prince ſo great in rank and "expectation. While we were in the houſe of lords, it rained "very hard, as it has done *all the ſeaſon;* when we came into "Palace-Yard, the way to the Abbey was lined with ſoldiers, but "the managers had not afforded the ſmalleſt covering over our "heads; but by good fortune, while we were from under cover, "it held up. We went in at the ſouth-eaſt door, and turned ſhort "into Henry the ſeventh's chapel. The ſervice was performed "without either anthem or organ. So ended this ſad day.—There "was not the attention to order the green-cloth to provide them a "bit of bread, and theſe gentlemen," (the bed-chamber of the late prince,) "of the firſt rank and diſtinction, in diſcharging of their "laſt ſad duty to a loved and loving maſter, were forced to be-"ſpeak *a great cold dinner from a common tavern in the neighbourhood.* "At three o'clock, indeed, they vouchſafed to think of a dinner, "and ordered one; but *the diſgrace was compleat.* The tavern-din-"ner was paid for, and given to the poor. N. B. The duke of "Somerſet was chief mourner, notwithſtanding the flouriſhing "ſtate of the royal family."*

Judge Page, of *hanging* memory, when once pronouncing ſentence of death upon a priſoner, added, by way of conſolation, "You have A PITIFUL KING ſirrah! A PITIFUL KING, INDEED!"

In this chapter we have ſeen a few memorable ſpecimens of

* Dodington's Diary, Dublin edition, p. 72.

the mode in which public money is expended. We ſhall conclude with ſome remarks on the method by which it is raiſed.

"The rigour and *arbitrary* proceedings of exciſe laws, ſeem "hardly compatible with the temper of a free nation. For the "frauds that might be committed in this branch of the revenue, "unleſs a ſtrict watch is kept, make it neceſſary, wherever it is "eſtabliſhed, to give the officers a power of entering and ſear-"ching the houſes of ſuch as deal in exciſeable commodities, at "any hour of the day; and, in many caſes, of the night like-"wiſe. And the proceedings, in caſe of tranſgreſſions, are ſo "ſummary and ſudden, that a man may be convicted in two "days time, in the penalty of many thouſand pounds, by two "commiſſioners or juſtices of the peace; to the total excluſion "of *the trial by jury*, and diſregard of *the common law*."* About ſeven millions ſterling, or two-fifths of the whole annual revenues of Britain, are raiſed by an exciſe. They are raiſed in an *arbitrary* manner, and in "diſregard of *the common law*." After ſuch an acknowledgment, it ſeems trifling in this author to cant ſo much about Engliſh liberty. He ſays, that "from its firſt original to "the preſent time, its very name *(exciſe)* has been odious to "the people of England." If this be true, and if the people are as free as they pretend to be, they might, ſurely, in the courſe of an hundred and forty-nine years,† have caſt it aſide, and placed a better ſyſtem in its ſtead. The writer gives a very long catalogue of commodities that have been exciſed, and adds theſe words: "A liſt, which no friend to his country would wiſh to "ſee farther encreaſed." Since his time, the liſt has been much enlarged. Exciſe has always been paid, and always execrated; which ſhews the folly of the trite aphoriſm, that an Engliſhman can only be taxed by *his own conſent*, and tried by *a jury of his peers*. As two juſtices of the peace can ſuperſede the exiſtence of *the common law*, and the right of *trial by jury*, let us enquire what kind of perſons they are. In Scotland, we all know, that they are ſometimes the moſt inſolent, the moſt brutal, unintelligent and worthleſs characters in the county where they reſide. The chief qualifications required by the ſtatute of the fifth year of George the ſecond is, that they ſhall have an hundred pounds per annum clear of all deductions. Blackſtone ſpeaks of this affair, in the following terms. "Few care to undertake, and "fewer *underſtand* the office. The country is *greatly obliged* to "any worthy magiſtrate, that, without ſiniſter views of his own, "will engage in this troubleſome ſervice." (Thus we muſt commence mendicants for people to ſuſpend *the common law.*) "And

* Commentaries by Sir William Blackſtone, book 1. chap. 8.

† Exciſe was firſt impoſed in England, in 1643.

" therefore, if *a well-meaning juſtice* makes any *undeſigned ſlip* in " his practice, great lenity and indulgence are ſhewn him in the " courts of law; and there are many ſtatutes made to protect " him in the *upright* diſcharge of his office; which, among " other privileges, prohibit ſuch juſtices from being ſued for any " OVERSIGHT, *without notice before hand*; and ſtop all ſuits be- " gun, on tender made of *ſufficient amends*."‡ Who is to decide what compenſation ſhould be ſatisfactory? This quotation, when ſtript of the verbage that ſurrounds it, tells us plainly, that juſtices of the peace are very often incapable of executing their duty, and that *many ſtatutes* have been expreſsly framed, to ſhield them from the puniſhment deſerved by their ignorance. A magiſtrate who underſtands his buſineſs, needs no peculiar protection. In ſhort, we ſee, that when a juſtice of the peace blunders, the door againſt redreſs is both ſhut and bolted. The author, indeed, ſubjoins, that a juſtice, when convicted of *wilful* or *malicious* injury, is ſubjected " to double coſts." But ſince it is next to impoſſible to convict or even to proſecute him, the latter ſtipulation is a mere ſtalking horſe. Theſe magiſtrates are removeable at the pleaſure of the crown; a reaſon, perhaps, why they have been choſen as inſtruments for ſuſpending the uſe of *the common law*.

The morals of the Britiſh nation have been degraded by exceſſive taxes. On the 16th of June, 1789, the houſe of commons reſolved itſelf into a committee, on the bill for an exciſe on tobacco. A few notes from Debrett's parliamentary debates on that bill, will demonſtrate the maturity to which ſmuggling and its twin-ſiſter perjury, muſt have extended. Mr. Pitt ſaid, " that at leaſt one-half of the tobacco, conſumed in the king- " dom (Britain) was *ſmuggled*." The importation of tobacco " amounted to nearly ſixteen millions of pounds, but to four- " teen *at leaſt*. The actual legal importation, he declared, had " been, on the average, eſtimated at *ſeven millions*." The duty on each million of pounds, was ſixty thouſand pounds ſterling; ſo that if only five millions of pounds were annually ſmuggled into Britain, the revenue was defrauded of three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling, and *the fair trader*, if ſuch a character can have exiſted, was robbed of his cuſtomers and his profits. Mr. Pitt ſaid, that previous to the commutation act, which reduced the duty on tea, about the ſame quantity of that article had been imported, and a very great proportion of it had been ſmuggled. He had made ſome regulations for leſſening the duty on wines imported, and from thirteen thouſand tons, the former viſible importation, it had mounted up to twenty-two thouſand tons. The additional nine thouſand had formerly been ſmuggled. It

‡ Commentaries, book 1, chap. 9.

is no wonder that *a cuſtom-houſe oath* has long been ſynonimous to perjury. The tobacco bill, conſiſting of an hundred and thirty-five folio pages, paſt, after long and angry debates. Next year, an attempt was made to repeal it, and on the 10th of April, 1790, Mr. Sheridan, in a ſpeech on that queſtion, told the following ſtory to the houſe of commons. An eminent diſtiller, of a very fair character, had occaſion to diſpute a judgment by which a quantity of ſpirits had been ſeized and condemned as above proof. He maintained that they were not above proof; that Clarke's hydrometer, by which they had been proved, was faulty; and that if the ſpirits were tried by hydrometers accurately made, they would be found to be ſuch as the law required them to be, and conſequently not ſeizable. The caſe went to trial, and turned out preciſely as the diſtiller had ſtated it to be; Mr. Clarke admitted that his hydrometer was faulty, and requeſted that the commiſſioners of exciſe would give him leave to amend and correct it. But, inſtead of liſtening to a requeſt ſo reaſonable and juſt, they procured a clauſe to be inſerted in a hotch-potch bill, by which it was enacted that Clarke's hydrometer ſhould, in future, be the legal ſtandard for trying the ſtrength of ſpirits.

This hydrometer was acknowleged, by its maker, to be faulty; and yet the commiſſioners, ſo far from granting him leave to amend it, applied to parliament for an act which ſanctioned error, and legalized falſehood and oppreſſion.* Thus far Mr. Sheridan.

CHAPTER VI.

Edward I.—Edward III.—Henry V.—Ireland—Conduct of Britain in various quarters of the world—Otaheite—Guinea—North-America—The Jerſey priſon ſhip—Bengal—General eſtimate of deſtruction in the Eaſt-Indies.

AT home Engliſhmen admire liberty, but abroad they have always been harſh maſters. Edward the firſt conquered Wales and Scotland, and, at the diſtance of five hundred years, his name is yet remembered in both countries with traditionary horror. His annals are blaſted by an exceſs of infamy, uncommon even in the ruffian catalogue of Engliſh kings. David Hume, Sir William Blackſtone, and Sir John Sinclair, have celebrated the talents and atchievements of this deteſtable barbarian. "The "Engliſh *Juſtinian* was one of the wiſeſt and moſt fortunate

* Debrett's Parliamentary Debates, vol. xxvii. page 408.

" princes, that ever ſat upon the thone of England. In him were " united, the prudence and foreſight of the ſtateſman and legiſ- " lator, with the valour and magnanimous ſpirit of the hero."* Edward mad[illegible] war in Paleſtine and in France. He butchered ſome hundred thouſands of the Welſh and the Scots. He was conſtantly at variance with his own ſubjects, and exerted every petty fraud to ſtrip them of their property. The ſpoil thus obtained, was expended with equal criminality. We ſhudder to think of a domeſtic murder; but when a crowned robber, whoſe underſtanding is perhaps unequal to the office of a poſt-boy, ſends an hundred thouſand brave men into the field, to deſolate provinces, and hew nations down like oxen, we call it *Glory*. Thus common ſenſe and humanity are obliterated by a rhapſody of words. If Edward the firſt, as a private man, had murdered a ſingle Scot or Welſhman, the world would have agreed in thinking that he deſerved the gallows. But when he *only*, upon the moſt hateful pretences, butchered three or four hundred thouſand people, we are ſummoned, at the end of five centuries, to admire " his wiſdom, his " good forture, his valour and magnanimity." As to his *wiſdom*, it is hard to ſay what England gained by his victories. The Welſh were independent or thereabouts, in the reign of Henry the fourth, an hundred years after the death of Edward, ſo that the *merit* of finally ſubduing them is to be placed ſomewhere elſe. The Scots revolted in the life-time of this Edward. He died on a journey to Scotland, for the ſacred purpoſe of extirpating the Scots nation. He would have been much wiſer if he had ſtaid at home at firſt, and ſaved himſelf the trouble of an impracticable conqueſt. As to the domeſtic legiſlation of this *Juſtinian*, he hanged two hundred and eighty Jews in one day. " Above fifteen thou- " ſand were plundered of all their wealth, and baniſhed the king- " dom."† The ſame writer ſays, that theſe enormities were committed under various *pretences*. "The year thirteen hundred forms " the diſgraceful epoch of the original debaſement of our ſtan- " dard coin, when our *Engliſh Juſtinian*, Edward firſt, defrau- " ded every creditor of eight-pence half-penny in every twenty- " ſhillings."‡ An excellent legiſlator he was, to be ſure, when he cheated the public creditors, and forged bad money. Edward firſt introduced tonnage and poundage, duties on imports and exports. He was, in every reſpect, a ſcourge to the human race.

Edward the ſecond wanted to live at peace. Sir John Sinclair tells us, that his reign is remarkable for " the *inconſiderable* taxes " levied." He was fond of the ſociety of ſome companions, and all the hiſtorians mention this mark of good nature, as a very groſs weakneſs, if not *a poſitive crime*. The heart of a wolf was,

* Hiſtory of the Public Revenue, part 1. chap. 6.
† Ibid.
‡ Eſtimate, &c. by Mr. Chalmers, p. 80.

at that time, an eſſential qualification, for a king of England. After various rebellions againſt him, Edward was taken priſoner by his wife. He expired in Berkley caſtle, by a ſpecies of death, too horrible to be deſcribed. His real guilt was a ſocial and peaceable diſpoſition.

"The reign of Edward the third is, without doubt, the moſt "*ſplendid* in the Engliſh hiſtory.—His queen pawned her jewels."* The king pawned *his crown*; and this pledge lay unredeemed for eight years. He conquered a great part of France, without any ſort of juſtice on his ſide. The rapacity of his ſon, the BLACK prince, as he has been emphatically termed, drove the French into rebellion, and the Engliſh out of the country. This conqueſt, and ſubſequent expulſion, firſt planted the ſeeds of that brutal antipathy to the French people, by which England has been too much diſtinguiſhed.

Ferox Britannus viribus antehac,
Galliſque ſemper cladibus imminens.

BUCHANAN.

"The Briton, formerly ferocious in his ſtrength, and always "menacing calamities to France." Engliſhmen pretend to be proud of the horrid ravages committed in that country, by Edward the third, by his ſon, and by Henry the fifth. The *juſtice* of their claims has long been given up; and yet we are deafened about their *virtues*. Engliſhmen prattle on *French* perfidy, and of ſucking in, with their mother's milk, an honeſt hatred for that greateſt of nations. In the French wars of Edward the third, and Henry the fifth, England was plainly the aggreſſor; and the country, ſo far from feeling pride in their victories, ought, if poſſible, to ſuppreſs *that* part of its ancient hiſtory. Philip de Comines places the affair in a proper light. He aſcribes the civil wars of York and Lancaſter, that ſucceeded the death of Henry the fifth, to the indignation of divine juſtice. The murder, by Richard the third, of his two nephews, was a diminutive crime, contraſted with the atrocity of Crecy, of Azincourt, and Poictiers. Henry the fifth was a two-fold uſurper. "When he "thought," ſays Horace Walpole, that he had any title to *the* "*crown of England*, the other followed of courſe." Since his time, the kings of England have called themſelves *kings of France*, juſt like a perſon advertiſing that his grand-father had ſtolen a horſe.

Henry butchered numbers of the Lollards, a premature tribe of proteſtants. The Scots, in great bodies, joined the French, and gave him ſome checks. On this he pretended, that they were *his* lawful ſubjects, and hanged thoſe whom he took priſoners, for having *rebelled*. Mr. Hume has employed a long paragraph upon *the character* of Henry. He begins, by ſaying, that

* Hiſtory of the Public Revenue, part 1. chap. 6.

" this prince poſſeſſed *many eminent virtues.*" Henry committed more miſchief than all the felons ever executed at Tyburn. Yet, Mr. Hume draws a plauſible picture of him, and fixes a ſtrong impreſſion of reſpect and kindneſs. Hiſtorians abound with theſe ſophiſtical portraits. The reader is taught to admire, when there is room for nothing but execration. Thus are his morals corrupted, and his underſtanding turned topſy-turvy. This is the moſt uſual effect of peruſing hiſtory. If Henry had only put to death a ſingle Lollard, he certainly could not poſſeſs *many eminent virtues.* A mite, in a cruſt of cheeſe, projecting an orrery, would be a leſs extravagant idea than that of a human being defining the nature, eſſence, and intentions of the Deity. But, when this phrenzy breaks out into perſonal violence, as in the caſe of the Lollards, and the quakers at Coventry, the madneſs of the ſcheme is forgot in its extreme wickedneſs.*

Ireland has long preſented a ſtriking monument of the wiſdom, juſtice, and humanity of the Engliſh nation. That devoted iſland was, in the end of the twelfth century, over-run by a ſet of banditti, under Henry the ſecond. This eſtabliſhed a divine right. Sir John Davis informs us, that even in times of peace, it was adjudged no felony to kill *a mere Iriſhman.* This acquiſition proved very troubleſome to the conquerors. " The uſual revenue of Ire-" land," ſays Mr. Hume, " amounted only to ſix thouſand pounds " a year. The queen, (Elizabeth,) though with much repining, " commonly added twenty thouſand pounds more, which ſhe re-" mitted from England." The *ſupremacy* was, at beſt, a loſing bargain. In war, affairs were, of courſe, an hundred times worſe. Sir John Sinclair ſays, that the rebellion of Tyrone, which laſted for eight years, coſt four hundred thouſand pounds *per annum.* In 1599, ſix hundred thouſand pounds were ſpent in ſix months; and Sir Robert Cecil affirmed, that in ten years, Ireland coſt England three millions, and four hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. This profuſion of treaſure was expended in ſupporting the piratical conqueſt of a country, which did not yield a ſhilling of profit to England, nor pay, even in time of peace, a fourth-part of the expence of its goverment. The conſolation of inflicting the deepeſt and moſt univerſal wretchedneſs, was the total recompenſe afforded to the good people of England. Sir William Petty, in his Political Anatomy, ſays, that in the year 1641, Ireland contained 1,466,000 inhabitants.

He adds, that in 1652, they had ſunk to 850,000†

Decreaſe 616,000

* The Engliſh nation might, at this day, have been four times more numerous, a thouſand times more happy, and by millions of degrees leſs criminal, if two-thirds of them had belonged to the ſociety of Friends.

† Theſe particulars are borrowed from a quarto edition of Guthrie's Grammar, printed at Dublin. I have not yet ſeen a copy of the Political Anatomy.

Thus, in eleven years, the Iriſh nation loſt ſix hundred and ſixteen thouſand people. In 1641 they had been driven into rebellion, by the tyranny of that Engliſh parliament which conducted Charles Stuart to the ſcaffold. On the incorruptible virtues of that upright band, much nonſenſe hath been ſaid and ſung. By a ſingle vote, they confiſcated two millions and five hundred thouſand acres of ground in Ireland. The whole iſland was transformed into an immenſe ſlaughter-houſe. Ireland, governed by an Engliſh *republic*, might have looked towards Morocco, as a terreſtrial paradiſe. Compared with the tremendous maſs of miſery produced by Strafford, Cromwell, Ireton, and the *virtuous* duke of Ormond, the dungeons of the Baſtile, or the proſcriptions of a Roman triumvirate, ſhrink into forgetfulneſs.†

Neither the reſtoration of Charles the ſecond, nor the *glorious* revolution, afforded much relief to Ireland. The people continued to groan under the moſt oppreſſive and abſurd deſpotiſm, till, in defiance of all conſequences, the immortal Swift, like another Ajax,

Broke the dark phalanx, and let in the light.

He taught his country to underſtand her importance. At laſt ſhe reſolved to aſſert it, and, as a neceſſary arrangement, ſhe aroſe in arms. England ſaw the hazard of contending with a brave, an injured, and an indignant nation. The fabric of tyranny trembled to its baſe; and it is to be hoped, that a ſhort time will extinguiſh every veſtige of a ſupremacy, diſhonourable and pernicious to both nations. As matters now ſtand, an Iriſhman, who loves his country, muſt be ſtrongly tempted to wiſh that England were ſunk five thouſand fathoms below the German ocean. If the reſt of Europe has not been reduced to the ſame diſtreſs with Ireland, it is owing to want of power, and not of inclination, on the ſide of England. The greater part of her wars, commenced againſt foreign nations, have wanted even a pretence of juſtice. For inſtance, in 1652, the immaculate Engliſh commonwealth forced the Dutch into a rupture. Mr. Hume aſſigns the following reaſons for it. "Many of the members thought "that a foreign war would ſerve as a pretence for *continuing* "*the ſame parliament*, and delaying the new model of a repre- "ſentative, with which the nation had ſo long been flattered. "To divert the attention of the public from domeſtic quarrels, "towards foreign tranſactions, ſeemed, in the preſent diſpoſi- "tions of men's minds, to be *good policy*. The parliamentary "leaders hoped *to gain many rich prizes from the Dutch*, and to "*diſtreſs and ſink their flouriſhing commerce*." The Romans began the third Punic war for the very ſame kind of reaſons. Blake

† Conſult a Review of the Civil Wars in Ireland, by Dr. Curry. An epitome of his valuable book, will form a future part of the Political Progreſs.

was the hero of this conteſt; and it has been cuſtomary to celebrate his virtues. He had exactly the ſame proportion of honeſty with any other admiral of Corſairs. Plunder and bloodſhed were the object of his maſters; and if it be true, that he deſpiſed money, this only ſhews that he was willing to rob and murther without any farther gratification than that which he felt from the pleaſure of the performance. The Dutch did all that was poſſible to prevent the war, both before and after a firſt battle had been fought. The Engliſh behaved with the moſt intolerable arrogance. This alſo is *an admitted fact*; ſo that the whole guilt of the quarrel reſted on the ſide of England, even by the ſtatement of Britiſh hiſtorians. Eight bloody and deſperate conflicts were fought. One of them laſted for two days, and a ſecond for three. Many thouſands of lives were loſt. Sixteen hundred merchant veſſels were taken from the Dutch, and their fiſheries were totally ſuſpended. The war laſted for about two years.

Viſit the royal infirmary of Edinburgh, and, along with a dozen ſtudents, who are half ſmothering a laugh at the agonies of the patient, contemplate the amputation or the fracture of a limb. You may then attempt to form a conception of three hundred thouſand ſuch operations, and reflect that *this is war*.

In 1655, Cromwell attacked the dominions of Spain, without pretending to have received any offence. The two nations had lived in profound peace for about thirty years. "Several ſea officers," ſays Mr. Hume, "having entertained ſcruples of conſcience, with regard to *the juſtice of the Spaniſh war*, threw up "their commiſſions, and retired. No commands, they thought, "of their ſuperiors, could juſtify a war, which was contrary to "the principles of *natural equity*, and which the civil magiſtrate "*had no right to order*." The names of theſe officers ought to be tranſmitted to poſterity on braſs and marble. "Individuals, they "maintained, in reſigning to the public their natural liberty, "could beſtow on it only what they themſelves were poſſeſſed of, "*a right of performing lawful actions*, and could inveſt it with no "authority of commanding *what is contrary to the decrees of heaven*." All this is moſt unqueſtionably true, but obſerve how Mr. Hume gets over this difficulty. "Such maxims, though THEY SEEM "REASONABLE, are perhaps too perfect for human nature; and "muſt be regarded as one effect, though of the moſt *innocent* and "even *honourable* kind, of that ſpirit, partly *fanatical*, partly republican, which predominated in England." Thus, when a man refuſes, at command of government, to commit what he thinks murder and piracy, he is *partly fanatical*, and his ſcruples, though *they ſeem reaſonable*, are perhaps *too perfect for human nature*. A book that dictates ſuch maxims of depravity is more peſtiferous to the human heart than the ſophiſms of Hobbes and Machiavel, or the impurities of Rocheſter and of Cleland. Let us proceed

with our narrative. In the Weſt-Indies, Penn, father to the founder of Philadelphia, and Venables conquered Jamaica; and the crown of Britain continues to hold that iſland by the ſame right which a highwayman has to the watch in your pocket. A fleet of Spaniſh galleons were attacked. Two of them were taken, and the plunder was valued at two millions of pieces of eight. Two other galleons were ſet on fire. The wife and daughter of the viceroy of Peru were deſtroyed in the flames, while the diſtracted huſband and father, who might have eſcaped death, choſe to periſh with his family.* "The next action againſt "the Spaniards was more *honourable*, though leſs *profitable*, to the "nation. Thus we learn from Mr. Hume, that there is a degree of *honour* in burning ſhips, when you cannot get them plundered, and in deſtroying innocent paſſengers, with their wives and children. This *next action*, which was ſo extremely *honourable*, conſiſted in the conflagration of ſixteen Spaniſh ſhips, with all their treaſures. "This was the *laſt* and *greateſt* action of the gallant "Blake. Diſintereſted, generous, liberal; ambitious only of *true* "*glory*, dreadful only to his avowed enemies, he forms one of the "moſt *perfect* characters of the age, and the leaſt ſtained with "thoſe errors and violences, which were then ſo predominant. "The protector ordered him a pompous funeral at the public "charge; but the tears of his countrymen were the moſt honour-"able panegyric on his memory." Mr. Hume ſhould likewiſe have told us, that Charles the ſecond, cauſed Blake to be *dug up again*. He himſelf admits, that the invaſion of the Spaniſh Weſt-Indies "was an *unwarrantable* violation of treaty." Where, then, is the diſtinction between Cromwell and Barbaroſſa? There is, ſurely, none at all. England paid dearly for this war. The property of her merchants in Spain was confiſcated to an immenſe amount; and it was computed that fifteen hundred Engliſh veſſels were, in a few years, captured by the enemy. Theſe loſſes counterbalanced the *millions of pieces of eight*, acquired by the perpetration of ſuch horrid crimes.

On the 22d of February, 1665, Charles the ſecond declared war againſt Holland. When an exile and a beggar, he had been received with kindneſs in that country; and the general partiality of the people in his favour, had afforded ſome offence to the late republic of England. His majeſty now haſted to diſcharge his obligations. The motives to this rupture, correſponded with thoſe which led to the former war with Holland, viz. the love of pillage and of ſlaughter. "The Dutch, who, by induſtry and "frugality, were enabled to underſell them (the Engliſh) in every "market, retained poſſeſſion of the moſt lucrative branches of "commerce; and the Engliſh merchants had the mortification

* *He preferred death to a capitulation with tyrants.*

" to find, that all attempts to extend their trade, were ſtill turned, " by the vigilance of their rivals, to their loſs and diſhonour. " Their indignation encreaſed, when they conſidered *the ſuperior* " *naval power* of England; the bravery of her officers and ſea- " men; her favourable ſituation which enabled her to intercept " the whole Dutch commerce. By the proſpect of theſe advan- " tages, they were ſtrongly prompted, from motives *leſs juſt than* " *political*, to make war upon the ſtates; and, at once, *to raviſh* " *from them, by force*, what they could not obtain, or could ob- " tain but ſlowly, by ſuperior ſkill and induſtry." In this paſ- ſage, Mr. Hume implies, that England acted with *ſome degree* both of *policy* and of *juſtice*. As to the latter, it is evident, from his own account, that there was not a ſingle ſpark of it, and as to the *policy*, the ſequel ſhewed, that it was entirely miſtaken. The Engliſh miniſter at the Hague, preſented to the ſtates " a liſt of " thoſe depredations, of which the Engliſh complained. It is re- " markable, that all the pretended depredations preceded the " year 1662, when a treaty of league and alliance had been re- " newed with the Dutch, and theſe complaints were then thought " either ſo *ill-grounded*, or ſo *frivolous*, that they had not been " mentioned in the treaty." Two ſhips had been claimed by the Engliſh. The matter was referred to a court of law; and the ſtates had conſigned a ſum of money, in caſe the queſtion ſhould be decided againſt them. The matter was ſtill in depen- dence. The ſtates had offered thirty thouſand pounds to the owners of one of theſe two ſhips, in full of their demands, and the people had reſolved to accept of it. They were prevented by the Engliſh ambaſſador, who told them, that the claim was *a matter of ſtate*. The whole Engliſh nation were violently bent on a war. " The parliament granted a ſupply, the largeſt, by far, " that had ever been given to a king of England; *yet ſcarcely* " *ſufficient for the preſent undertaking*." The Dutch " tried every art " of negociation, before *they would come to extremities*." The war began. The king of Denmark made, at the ſame time, an offen- ſive alliance with England againſt Holland; and another with Holland againſt England. He adhered to the treaty with Hol- land, and ſeized and confiſcated all the Engliſh ſhips in his har- bours. England could not obtain a ſingle ally, except the inſig- nificant biſhop of Munſter. One of the naval battles in this war laſted for four days, and the fleets were finally parted by a miſt. In a ſubſequent engagement, the Engliſh were victorious, and burnt in the road of Vlie, an hundred and forty merchantmen, with a large village on the neighbouring coaſt. The Dutch, in return, ſailed up the river Medway, took Sheerneſs, deſtroyed a number of men of war, inſulted Plymouth, Portſmouth, and Harwich, and ſailed up the Thames as far as Tilbury. On the 10th of July, 1667, a peace was concluded upon equal terms.

The war coſt the Dutch about three millions ſterling, but they were not vanquiſhed. On the 13th of January, 1668, Charles entered into a ſtrict alliance with them. Not long after it was ſigned, Clifford, a confidential miniſter of Charles, ſaid *we muſt have a ſecond war with Holland.* On the 17th of March, 1672, war was actually declared by Charles againſt that republic. "A "ground of quarrel," ſays Mr. Hume, "was ſought by means "of a yacht, diſpatched for lady Temple. The captain ſailed "through the Dutch fleet, which lay on their own coaſts; and "he had orders to make them ſtrike, to fire on them, and to per- "ſevere till *they ſhould return his fire.*" The Dutch admiral came on board of the yacht, and in friendly and ſenſible terms, repreſented the abſurdity of ſuch conduct. The captain of the yacht did not chuſe to continue his fire; and, for this breach of orders, he was, on his return home, committed to the tower. Some other pretences are enumerated by Mr. Hume, and they were all equally ridiculous. A ſeries of dreadful engagements were again fought at ſea; and it does not appear that England gained a ſingle victory. But as France now aſſiſted Charles, the Dutch were overwhelmed rather than vanquiſhed. A peace was ſigned in February 1674, and the advantages gained by England were extremely trifling.

Theſe three wars with Holland, and the fourth with Spain, were begun and ended in the ſhort period of twenty-two years. No ſober man will attempt to deny that, in every one of them, England was an unprovoked, a perfidious, and a barbarous aggreſſor; and that ſhe diſcovered in each of them, an inſatiable thirſt of piracy and murther. Her conduct both before and ſince that period hath been exactly of the ſame complexion; nor is it likely that ſhe will forbear to inſult and rob other nations, till, in the maturity of divine juſtice, a ſecond Duke of Normandy, ſhall extinguiſh her political exiſtence.

In the Eaſt and Weſt-Indies, the conduct of the "united "kingdoms" may be candidly compared with the *trial* of Atahualpa.

Our ſublime politicians exult in the victory of Seringapatam,* and the butchery of the ſubjects of a prince, at the diſtance of ſix thouſand leagues from Britain. Yet it would be an event the moſt auſpicious both for Bengal and for ourſelves, if Cornwallis, with all his myrmidons, could be at once driven out of India.

But what quarter of the globe has not been convulſed by our ambition, our avarice, and our baſeneſs? The tribes of the Pacific Ocean are polluted by the moſt loathſome of diſeaſes. On the ſhores of Africa, we bribe whole nations by drunkenneſs, to robbery and murder; while, in the face of earth and heaven,

* On the 6th of February, 1792.

our ſenators aſſembled to ſanctify the practice. Our brandy has brutalized or extirpated the aborigines of the weſtern continent; and we have hired by thouſands, the ſurvivors, to the taſk of bloodſhed. On an impartial examination, it will be found, that the guilt and infamy of this practice, exceed, by a conſiderable degree, that of any other ſpecies of crimes recorded in hiſtory. It is far worſe than even the piracies of the Algerines, or the African ſlave trade; becauſe, though the two latter have coſt millions of lives, yet plunder, not aſſaſſination, is the ultimate object of purſuit; whereas, a plan, for exciting the Indians to extirpate the people of the United States, holds out no temptation, either of conqueſt or of ſpoil; and can ariſe only from a genuine monarchical and parliamentary thirſt for the blood of republicans.

Our North-American colonies, including the Thirteen United States, formed a pretence for long and bloody wars, and for an expenditure of two hundred and eighty millions ſterling.* We ſtill retain Canada, at an immenſe annual charge, that ſhall be hereafter ſpecified. The money is wreſted from us by an exciſe, which revels in the deſtruction of manufactures, and the beggary of ten thouſand honeſt families. From the province itſelf, we never raiſed, nor hope to raiſe, a ſhilling of effective revenue; and the chief reaſon why its inhabitants endure our dominion for a month longer, is to ſecure the money that we ſpend among them. The Britiſh commiſſioners of public accounts, in their ſixteenth report, ſtate the following particulars. The amount of cuſtoms for 1784, in the ports of Quebec, of Halifax, of Newfoundland, and St. John's, was five hundred and ſixty-three pounds ſterling; the expences of collection and incidents, one thouſand, two hundred and eighty-eight pounds. The charges thus exceeded the income by *ſeven hundred and twenty-five pounds*. This is a ſummary of their detail. There ſeems to have been a miſtake, perhaps by the printer, in caſting up the figures, to the extent of fifty-ſeven pounds. This trifling circumſtance is only mentioned to ward off a charge of miſ-qnotation.

The mode of conducting our war againſt America, correſponded with the juſtice of our cauſe. At the burning of Fairfield, in Connecticut, "a ſucking infant was plundered of part of its "cloathing, while the bayonet was preſented to the breaſt of its "mother.† At Connecticut Farms, in the ſtate of New-York, Mrs. Caldwell, the wife of a preſbyterian clergyman, was ſhot dead, by a muſket, levelled at *her*, through the window of a room, in which ſhe was ſitting with her children. Permiſſion was granted to remove her body, and then the houſe itſelf was reduced to aſhes.‡ We have at leaſt five or ten thouſand authen-

* Hiſtory of the Public Revenue, part III. chap. 2.
† Ramſay's Hiſtory of the American Revolution, vol. II. chap. 17.
‡ Ibid. chap. 20.

tic anecdotes of the ſame kind. The Jerſey, a Britiſh priſon-ſhip, at New-York, will be long remembered in the United States. It is affirmed, on as good evidence as the nature of the ſubject will admit, that, during the laſt ſix years of the war, eleven thouſand American priſoners died of hunger, and every ſort of bad treatment, aboard of that ſingle veſſel. For ſome time after the war ended, heaps of their bones lay whitening in the ſun, on the ſhores of Long-Iſland. When the illuſtrious commander at Weſt-Point deſerted to Clinton, nothing could be more *becoming the ſervice*, than his inſtant promotion to the rank of a Britiſh brigadier-general. Philips, and other Britiſh officers, at once adopted, as their aſſociate and their confidant, this prodigy of Connecticut. England is fond of comparing herſelf to antient Rome; and, in perfidy and barbarity, ſhe has been a moſt ſucceſsful imitator. But ſhe has neither exerted the inflexible intrepidity, the profound wiſdom, nor the dignified pride of a primitive Roman. Fabius or Marcellus durſt not have promoted a Numidian deſerter to the command of a legion; nor would ſuch a perſon have been ſuffered, like Arnold, to challenge and fight a ſenator for the exerciſe of his duty.

The peninſula within the Ganges, is the grand ſcene, where the genius of Britiſh *ſupremacy* diſplays its meridian ſplendour. Culloden, Glencoe, and Darien, the Britiſh famine of four years, Burgoyne's tomahawks, Tarleton's quarters, the Jerſey priſon-ſhip, and the extirpation of ſix hundred and ſixteen thouſand Iriſh men, women and children, dwindle from a compariſon.

"The civil wars, to which our violent deſire of creating na-"bobs gave riſe, were attended with tragical events. Bengal "was depopulated by every ſpecies of public diſtreſs. In the "ſpace of *ſix* years, half the great cities of this opulent king-"dom were rendered deſolate; the moſt fertile fields in the "world lay waſte; and FIVE MILLIONS of harmleſs and induſ-"trious people were either expelled or deſtroyed. Want of "foreſight became more fatal than innate barbariſm; and men "found themſelves wading through *blood* and *ruin*, when their "only object was *ſpoil*.* This book was publiſhed in 1772." The author, a Scots officer, returned to India *after its publication*. His return to Bengal proves that the accuſation here advanced was of *notorious* authenticity, and that colonel Dow was prepared to ſupport it, at the point of his ſword.

On the 5th of June, 1792, Mr. Francis ſaid, in the houſe of commons, that the Bengal newſpapers were perpetually full of advertiſements, for the ſale of lands, ſeized *for want of due payment of revenue*. He held in his hand two of theſe advertiſements; the one announced the ſale of *ſeventeen* villages, and the other, a ſale of *forty-two*. John Bonnar may, perhaps, live to advertiſe

* Dow's Hiſtory of Hindoſtan, vol. III. p. 70.

Falkirk or Muſſelburgh for the arrears of a malt-exciſe. Mr. Francis quoted ſome minutes of lord Cornwallis to the ſame effect. One of theſe, dated the 18th of September, 1789, was in theſe remarkable words. "I can ſafely affirm, that *one-third* of the "company's territory in Hindoſtan, is now A JUNGLE, INHABI-"TED BY WILD BEASTS."

In 1785, the Britiſh Eaſt-India company governed two hundred and eighty-one thouſand, four hundred and twelve ſquare miles of territory; a ſpace equal to twice the area of the whole republic of France, which is known to comprehend *twenty-ſeven millions* of people. The writers on this ſubject frequently remark, that large provinces of Hindoſtan, were *formerly* cultivated like a garden. The Hindoos themſelves, are, perhaps, the moſt abſtemious of mankind. Their ſubſiſtence requires but a trifling quantity of food, compared with that of any race of people in Europe. From the pacific temper of the natives, they had, for the moſt part, but few wars. Agriculture and manufactures had arrived at a high degree of perfection. From theſe important and combined cauſes, the population of India muſt have been prodigious. But, if we ſuppoſe that it was only in proportion to that of France, and the ſuppoſition is perfectly reaſonable, the dominions of the Eaſt-India company muſt, before the commencement of Britiſh conqueſts, have contained *fifty-four millions* of inhabitants; and from various circumſtances that have been ſtated, this computation is certainly not overcharged. For the ſake of diſtinctneſs, we ſhall proceed by the help of cyphers.

Population previous to the year 1758 - - -		54,000,000
Lord Cornwallis, in 1789, ſtates, that one-*third* part of this country, was, at that time, a jungle inhabited by wild beaſts. For this jungle, deduct one-*third* of the ancient population - - - - -	18,000,000	
Suppoſe that the remaining two-third parts of theſe provinces have loſt *only* one half of the thirty-ſix millions of inhabitants, whom they contained, *before* their ſubjection to the Britiſh Eaſt-India company. This one-half gives	18,000,000	
Deduct this from the original population - -		36,000,000
Preſent number of inhabitants - - - - -		18,000,000

Thus, in thirty-five years, that is, from 1758, to 1792, inclusive, there has been an uniform waſte of people, under theſe mercantile ſovereigns, at the rate of more than *one million* per annum; in whole, THIRTY-SIX MILLIONS. The premiſes, on which this calculation has been founded, are explicitly placed before the reader. As to their juſtice, he is competent to decide for himſelf.

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THE END.